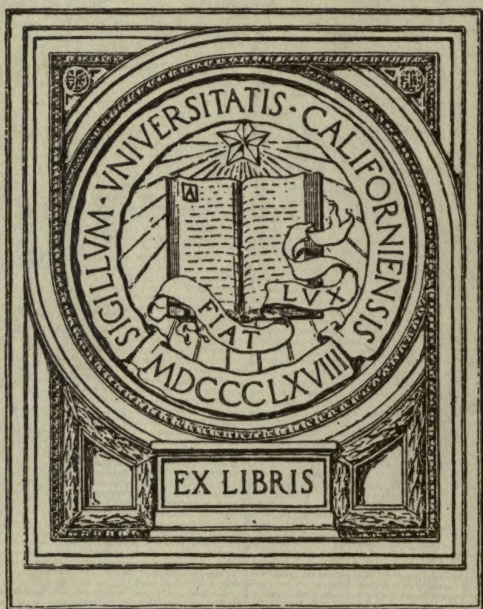




*Bernard Moses.*

IN MEMORIAM  
BERNARD MOSES



EX LIBRIS









THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
ANCIENT PALACE  
AND LATE  
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT  
AT  
WESTMINSTER:

EMBRACING  
ACCOUNTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, AND ITS  
CLOISTERS,—WESTMINSTER HALL,—THE COURT OF REQUESTS,—  
THE PAINTED CHAMBER, &c. &c.

BY  
EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY, AND JOHN BRITTON,  
FELLOWS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,  
&c. &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS.



*R. W. Billings del.*

SEAL OF ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE.

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LONDON:  
JOHN WEALE, ARCHITECTURAL LIBRARY, 59, HIGH HOLBORN.

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TO THE  
LIBRARY OF

BERNARD MOSES



TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL DE GREY,  
PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS;  
&c. &c. &c.

TO THE  
VICE-PRESIDENTS, HONORARY SECRETARIES,  
AND  
TO ITS OTHER MEMBERS.

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ESTABLISHED for the purpose of promoting and duly fostering the art and the science of Architecture in Great Britain, the INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS is at once entitled to this public compliment, and to the best wishes, as well as praises, of the Authors of the present volume. Its noble President, in particular, commands these in an eminent degree, for his Lordship has evinced more than common zeal in fostering its infancy, and has shewn a love of the Art and practice of Architecture, which cannot fail to connect the name of De Grey with that of the Institute in all its future history, and eventful influence.

From the days of Sir Christopher Wren, the English architect has never been fairly and fully appreciated, as regards his relative station amongst the artists of his country. In the "Royal Academy of Arts," which is the sole public

acknowledged Institution of British Artists, there are only four Architects out of forty members; thus shewing the slight estimation in which their profession was held at the foundation of the Academy in 1768; and the number has not been increased. Since that time, several attempts have been made to establish societies of Architects, but without sufficient influence to collect and combine, under a regular code of laws, a number of experienced and practical men. You, Gentlemen, have at length accomplished this object; and by associating property, respectability, and influence, have obtained a “local habitation and a name;” and being peculiarly fortunate in the selection of your distinguished President, you possess the means of securing honour to yourselves, and conferring lasting benefit on the profession. Deriving instruction from other associations, you will resolutely avoid all trivial and personal jealousies—all acts and proceedings which may either emanate from private motives and prejudices, or be regarded as arising from undue partiality. By legislating and acting on those general principles which are calculated to promote an honourable, liberal, and generous practice in the profession—by discountenancing every thing of a contrary kind—by inculcating sound and philosophical doctrines through the medium of your Society, and in your respective offices—and by shewing to the Public that your own exertions are based on the union of taste, judgment, and probity, you will make the INSTITUTION an ornament and an honour to the country and to yourselves.

Many years’ intimacy with some of the most eminent



Architects and Artists of England, and also with their patrons or employers, have afforded the writers of this Address opportunities of knowing the sentiments and conduct of both classes; and whilst they have often witnessed high talent and equal integrity in some professors, with liberality and good taste in patrons; they have also seen instances of incompetency and trickery in one, with meanness and ignorance in the other. Your Society is calculated to remove these evils. By promoting that laudable emulation which leads to excellence, and by repressing and discouraging all that is disreputable and unworthy the man of honour, of science, and of taste, you will secure the confidence of the nobility and gentry of the land. The Architecture and Architects of Britain may thus speedily become a theme of praise and admiration to foreigners; whilst the metropolis, the provincial towns, and the parks of our country may be adorned with edifices to vie in beauty of design, appropriateness of adaptation, and grandeur of effect, with any of the famed classic buildings of Greece and Italy.

In consequence of the recent destruction of the Houses of Parliament by fire, opportunity has been afforded of calling into competition and exertion the abilities of our Architects. Within the short space of four months, no fewer than ninety-seven sets of Designs have been made for the proposed new Houses of the Legislative Bodies. These Designs comprise at least fourteen hundred drawings of large dimensions—of elaborate detail—embracing complicated and extensive suites of apartments—of varied forms and applications, and of great difficulty and intricacy in combination; the mere

production therefore of such a mass of drawings, involves a strong proof of the talents and invention of our native Architects. We have cause to believe that the Designs laid before his Majesty's Commissioners, manifest great knowledge of the spirit, forms, and detail of the ecclesiastical and monastic Architecture of the middle ages—much skill, and taste in general and particular design—and extraordinary talent in drawing. With this testimony, from competent authority, we may reasonably look forward for the carrying into effect the '*Best of these Designs*,' whereby the judgment and honour of the Commissioners will be fully recognized—the fortunate Artist be acknowledged and rewarded—the profession receive an impetus and dignity—and office-jobbing and sinister influence have their final overthrow. The consummation of these points cannot but reflect much credit upon your INSTITUTION, of which so many individuals are now competing for that great meed of professional distinction, the erection of the proposed new Houses.

In addressing this Volume to the "Institute of British Architects," the Authors must assure the Members of the "*Architectural Society*," that they are fully sensible of the claims of that respectable Association to every consideration from the profession, from amateurs, and from the literati. Both societies have already done much good, and are likely to effect much more; for both have the same laudable objects in view, namely—the promotion of Architecture in this Country—the extension of the principles of taste, science, and honour among its professors, and the formation of Museums and Libraries for the purpose of in-



structing the junior members, and affording rational amusement and information even to the veterans of the Art. Emulation and competition among educated men, and between two such Societies, will advance the progress of Architectural science;—and although a union of the two, with the increased powers which would result from combination and co-operation, might be a *desideratum*, yet unless it were to be cemented by disinterestedness, and a strict unanimity, it is scarcely to be desired. But whether united, or separated, both Societies have our best wishes for their increasing prosperity and utility—for uninterrupted harmony—and for the final establishment of a national Architecture, and of a character for its professors which may surpass that of any other Country in the world.

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY,  
JOHN BRITTON.

*January 20, 1836.*

\* \* Strictly in accordance with the sentiments and facts above expressed, are the comments of an anonymous, but discriminating, writer in “the Atlas,” (January 31, 1836) which are transferred to this volume, as a means of giving them additional publicity, and a permanent record in immediate connection with Architects and architectural subjects.

“In the year 1835 was founded ‘THE INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS:’ it immediately enrolled among its members the greater number of Architects of established reputation in the British Metropolis. It opened an extensive correspondence with all foreign Academies and Institutions dedicated to the kindred Arts, and it has formed the nucleus of an important museum of professional reference, by the casts, books, models, &c. already in its possession. The

establishment of this Institution was the more necessary, as, with the exception of the '*Architectural Society*,' which takes its stand in a position not less honourable or useful, although devoted to the younger members of the profession, there had been no attempt to gather together the architectural genius of the country. The profession was scandalized and injured by the favouritism under which all Public works were committed to the select few, instead of being open to public competition. Thus, the character of the country suffered in the eyes of foreigners, and our public buildings became, with few exceptions; a reproach rather than an honour. Architects had long felt the want of a recognized body of professional men who should represent them, assert the character of the profession, and promote a more profound study of the various branches of science connected with the art. We have abundance of talent, and security for ability in the character of our Architects. Acted upon by a more free and popular system, the benefits of the new Institute will develop themselves, and our public monuments become indeed, a test of our national advancement.'

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## PREFACE.

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EVERY ancient edifice, whether of Egyptian, Grecian, or Roman origin and execution—whether on the banks of the Nile, the Ilissus, or the Tiber—whether its architectural forms be religious, warlike, or domestic, conveys in its varied features certain historic facts and evidence, which cannot fail to awaken the curiosity and laudable enquiries of ardent minds. Nor are the old buildings of Great Britain devoid of interest, or without their due share of historical association and national import. The fortified palaces of her monarchs—the castles of her steel-clad barons—the spacious and gorgeous monasteries and cathedrals of her monks and prelates—and the country-mansions and town-houses of her gentry and merchants, are objects of varied, but commanding attraction: for they all serve to illustrate the history of Art and of Science; the customs and condition of our ancestors at different epochs; the progress of civilization, and the moral and political advancement of the nation.

The contents of the ensuing pages will fully exemplify these remarks: for there is no single edifice, nor compound building, in this country, which involves such a variety of historical, political, and forensic materials,

with the eventful changes and vicissitudes to which it has been subjected, as the Ancient Palace of Westminster.

The destruction, by fire, of the two Houses of Parliament, and of a large mass of appendant Buildings, in October 1834, gave rise to the present publication. In the progress of its execution, the Authors have ascertained and related many facts to shew that the Architects of the olden times, commonly called the 'dark-ages,' studied at once stability, grandeur, and beauty, in their sacred and regal edifices. These were not merely large in size, and of lasting materials, but were finished in the smaller parts and decorations, with great cost and labour, and often with exquisite adornments.

The reflections and facts which press on the mind of the historian whilst contemplating matters connected with our modern national edifices and public bodies, excite feelings of regret, and frequently provoke the language of reproof; for though it has been poetically said that

"Ten censures wrong for one who writes amiss,"

it is generally admitted that in the execution of our public buildings, from the time immediately subsequent to the erection of St. Paul's Cathedral to that of the modern palace in St. James's Park, there has been lamentable mismanagement in such works, at once justifying the censures of criticism, and the regret of patriots.

In the annals of Parliament, as well as in the literary records of the kingdom, the historian meets with perpetual evidences of misapplications of public money—of the injudicious employment of improper, incompetent persons—and of the censures and obloquy applied to such persons after they have enriched themselves from the people's purse, and inflicted a disgrace both on their profession and their country by tasteless and dishonest practices. Instances of these things are



too recent and too palpable to require specific notice ; but with such warnings—such beacons before him, the prudent statesman will take care to steer a safer and more honest course, between the Charybdis and Scylla of interested, irresponsible directors, and of incompetent professors.

It is the imperious duty of Government to establish, not merely a better system of management in public buildings after they are erected, than has lately prevailed, but also to ensure their being skilfully and judiciously designed for their destined ends, and executed with all the science and knowledge which can be obtained.

As the present age is one of enterprise and great activity, —as it professes to give facility to all improvements and reasonable reforms, the public have a right to expect that this spirit will be duly and fully exercised in executing the proposed *New Houses of Parliament*.—The subject is important and national—it belongs to the whole kingdom, and the whole kingdom will be interested, and in some measure implicated, in the honour or disgrace which may become characteristic of the new erections. It affords a theme of deep import to the philosopher and historian ; for in reviewing the present commanding state of this country, they cannot fail to compare her with other times as well as with other kingdoms both of the ancient and modern world.

In the present endeavour to obtain designs for a building, that shall be fully worthy of the great purposes of our NATIONAL LEGISLATURE, Government have proceeded most auspiciously and wisely. By calling the talents and energies of Architects into competition, it may be confidently anticipated that many skilful and apposite designs will be produced : and it may also be as safely presumed that the Commissioners named by his Majesty will manifest both discri-

mination and judgment in their selection.\* Amenable as they are to the unprejudiced dictum of public opinion, they must be fully aware of the delicacy and difficulty of the task imposed on them. However superior one design may be to all the others, and however scrupulous and decisive may be the judges in their choice and report, they will not escape reproach. It is to be hoped that their duties and responsibilities will not terminate with their selection and report; but that they will be invested with further authority and powers. After carefully examining so many designs, and also studying the subject in all its details and architectural capabilities, these Gentlemen will be eminently qualified to advise with the Architect; to suggest and recommend modifications of some parts, and alterations of others; still however granting to, and enforcing on the Architect, his professional responsibilities, and allowing him every due latitude of discretion, in order that he may be fairly honoured or blamed for his finished work.

On too many occasions of public buildings, some meddling and officious person, in office, has dictated injudicious alterations to an Architect's design; but such things it is hoped will not occur again. On the present occasion one design is to be selected from amongst a series of ninety-seven; and it may be fairly presumed that amongst so many works of professional taste and skill, the prize will fall on one of commanding merit. It may also be concluded that the inventor of such design, if an Architect himself, is better qualified to carry into practical effect his own creations, and even to improve them, than any other person possibly can be.

\* The Commissioners are The Honourable SIR EDWARD CUST, The Honourable T. LIDDELL, CHARLES HANBURY TRACY, Esq. M.P., GEORGE VIVIAN, Esq. and SAMUEL ROGERS, Esq. The last gentleman having declined to act, it became the duty of the other four to perform the task.



Since the preceding remarks were written, the Commissioners have declared their election of four designs out of the number they had examined, and have made their report to his Majesty, who has signified his approval of their choice, (as recently stated by Lord Duncannon, in the House of Lords,) and the subject has been again referred to the same Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons, as were named last year. The successful candidates, are, CHARLES BARRY, Esq.\* J. C. BUCKLER, Esq. D. HAMILTON, Esq. and W. RAILTON, Esq. to each of whom £500 is awarded. The other Architects have agreed to make a *Public Exhibition* of their drawings, and his Majesties Commissioners of Woods and Forests have granted them the use of the rooms in the east wing of the National Gallery. An opportunity will thus be afforded for the public to examine and compare the various and numerous designs which have been made for this important mass of public edifices, and the Architects will also be enabled to analyse and contrast their own works with those of their professional brethren. We hail the event and the epoch, as of incalculable importance to the profession, to the public, and to the national character. We are sanguine enough to expect that it will be the first of an annual exhibition of Architectural models, drawings, casts, and engravings, by which the Artists will be enabled to display their respective powers and qualifications, the nobility and gentry be better instructed in the arts of architectural composition, and the public mind be much improved in all matters connected with this most important branch of the fine arts.

As the intended Buildings will be of elaborate detail, complicated arrangement, and impressive grandeur, the necessary expense of executing them may possibly raise objections in the

\* The designs of this highly talented architect are recommended to be carried into effect.

minds of some economic politicians; but they should remember that our countrymen have long been reproached for their want of ability or liberality to erect magnificent buildings. Whilst the capitals of France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and even America, are distinguished for spacious and splendid edifices, which induce travellers to visit and praise them, the Metropolis of the British Empire, although unparalleled in extent, wealth, and political relations, has neither a Palace, nor a Senate house, to compete with those of most other capitals. If the designs selected be appropriate in all essential parts, and fully adapted to the wants and conveniences of every official purpose, they ought, also, to be imposing and grand as a whole, and abound with every fascination of architectural, sculptural, and pictorial effect. Whilst nearly a million of money has been injudiciously expended on a palace, which the profound and acute Von Raumer, ("Letters on England") pronounces "in every respect a total failure," surely the Legislature and the Nation cannot reasonably object to such an outlay on a Public building as may manifest to the world that we possess at once professional ability and sufficient wealth to vindicate and establish a character for architecture.

In preparing, and during the progress of the present Volume, much exertion has been used to obtain original materials, as well as to select the most important facts connected with the Ancient Palace, from inedited records, and from our older Chroniclers. Divers Manuscripts in that invaluable repository the British Museum, have been sedulously examined, and many circumstances have been now, for the first time, communicated to the public from that source. The especial acknowledgments of the Authors are due to C. P. COOPER, Esq. Secretary to the Record Commission,



for his liberal permission to consult *gratuitously* the ancient Records connected with the subject of our work, in the various depositories under his control. Much valuable and interesting information has thereby been obtained, which it would have been otherwise *impossible*, under the general circumstances of the payment of official fees, transcripts, &c. to have inserted in the present, or indeed in any Publication restricted to a moderate price.

The Authors have great pleasure, also, in acknowledging and recording their sincere thanks to the following Gentlemen, who have rendered to them varied, but valuable assistance.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CANTERBURY, Speaker of the House of Commons at the time of the great conflagration.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR BENJAMIN CHARLES STEPHENSON, Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

SIR ROBERT SMIRKE, Architect, who has been employed, since the fire, in rebuilding and fitting up the new Houses, in supplying new buildings, and in recasing and repairing the whole interior of the Hall.

JOHN RICKMAN, Esq. Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons.

SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K. H.

SIR HARRIS NICOLAS, K.C.M.G., K.H.

SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart.

W. T. PHILIPPS, Esq., THOMAS CHAWNER, Esq. Architect, and HENRY RHODES, Esq. Architect, of the office of Woods and Forests, who very politely and kindly gave the Authors access to an elaborate set of drawings of the Houses of Parliament and their attached buildings, which had been recently made by the two gentlemen last named. These drawings, consisting of Plans and Sections, are peculiarly interesting, as exhibiting careful measurements of all the

numerous apartments connected with the two Houses. They are preserved in the office of Woods and Forests.

L. N. COTTINGHAM, Esq. C. J. RICHARDSON, Esq. and GEORGE BAILEY, Esq. Architects.

JOHN BAKER, Esq. to whom, among other valuable notes, we are indebted for the communications from which are derived the curious memoir of Alice Piers.

HENRY COLE, Esq.

J. STEVENSON, Esq.

J. M. MOFFATT, Esq.

In the original prospectus of this work, the Authors and Publisher engaged to furnish "about 400 pages of letter-press, and forty engravings," for the sum specified: they have given, however, nearly one hundred pages and eight prints more than was stipulated; thus exceeding their promises, and incurring considerable cost beyond their first estimate. Calculating on an extensive sale, they fixed a low price on the volume, and they presume to hope that there are readers enough in this class of Literature to secure them against loss.

Although they have fully redeemed their pledge in regard to the promised quantity of letter-press and illustrations, the Authors are aware they have failed in one particular, namely, the intended completion of their work by a given day. But they are under few apprehensions of being subjected to blame on that account. Much research was necessary, and considerable time has been employed (far beyond what was contemplated) in obtaining original information from ancient and authentic records; as well as in selecting from, and analysing such prior authorities as it was deemed expedient to consult for the due execution of their undertaking.

The Volume now completed, is submitted with every feeling of respect for, and confidence in, the judgment and discrimination of an impartial tribunal—THE PUBLIC.



## ADDRESS.

THE design of this work is to develop the genuine history of the *Palatial and Parliamentary Buildings of Westminster*, by a diligent inquiry into their origin, appropriation, and architectural characteristics, and by an earnest endeavour to furnish an insight into the relative states of courtly and national society at different periods. Towards effecting this desirable end, it will be necessary to resort to every available source of authentic record, both manuscript and printed, and to place before the reader such a distinct narrative of essential facts, as may at once to awaken his curiosity, inform his mind, and satisfy his judgment. In the first place, it will be expedient to adduce such evidence, and narrate such particulars, relating to Westminster generally, and its monastery in particular, as may tend to elucidate, or at least to indicate, its original and progressive occupancy as the National seat of Royalty. For this purpose, we shall have occasion to lay before the reader many passages from ancient records, and from the Monastic Chronicles, and these will be given with the most scrupulous attention to names, dates, and references, as the only specific mode of satisfying the critical antiquary and historian.





ANCIENT PALACE, &c.  
OF  
WESTMINSTER.

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE RELIGIOUS AND PALATIAL BUILDINGS OF  
WESTMINSTER, FROM THE PRESUMED ERAS OF THEIR FOUNDATION,  
UNTIL THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.

ACCORDING to the united testimony of our annalists, the district now named WESTMINSTER was originally called *Thorney Island*, from its having been “overgrown with thorns, and environed with water.” This fact is substantiated by a charter granted in the year 785, by *Offa*, the Mercian king, wherein the Isle of Thorney is expressly mentioned in conjunction with Westminster,\*—the latter appellation having arisen from the new *Minster*, then supposed to have been built, being situated to the West, either of London or of St. Paul’s Minster, or Cathedral.

\* Icecirco ego *Offa*, pro amore omnipotentis Dei in memoria æterna, dedi sancto Petro, et plebi Domini degenti in *Torneia in loco terribili*, quod dicitur *æt Westmunster*, quandam partem terræ, &c. Vide Widmore’s “Enquiry.” Appendix III.—The following passage occurs in “Chronicon R. Cestrensis, sive Polycronicon:”—“Quidam ad instigationem regis Ethelberti construxit ecclesiam beato Petro in occidentali parte urbis Londonie in loco qui *Thorneya* dicebatur, quod sonat *Spinarum Insula*, nunc autem dicitur *Westmonasterium*.”

At what precise time a religious foundation was first established in this dangerous place,—“in *loco terribili*,”—as it is termed in the more ancient grants, has been a subject of much controversial enquiry; but the most accredited writers ascribe its origin to Sebert, king of the East Saxons, “who having embraced Christianity, and being baptized by Melitus, bishop of London, immediately (to shew himself a Christian indeed), “built a church to the honour of God and St. Peter, on the west side of the cittie of London;”—some-time previously to the year 616.\* Whatever opinion, however, may be entertained as to the person of the actual founder, there can be little doubt of the existence of a small monastery on this spot, in the very early part of the seventh century.

During the Danish invasions, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the church at Westminster suffered much spoliation, and was at length entirely deserted about the year 943. Nearly twenty years afterwards it was restored by King Edgar, at the intercession of the celebrated Dunstan, who, when the buildings had been again rendered habitable,

\* Stow's “Survey of London,” p. 377, edit. 1598.—The years 604, 605, and 610, have also been assigned as the dates of the foundation of the church at Westminster. Usher, on the authority of Fleta, refers it to a yet earlier period, and assigns to it, even at its origin, those honours which it did not obtain until after the conquest. “From the primitive age of the Christian Faith among the Britains,” says the bishop, “that is, from the days of Lucius, their king, who, in the year of grace one hundred and eighty-four, is said to have received the Divine Law of Christ, and together with it the baptism of holy regeneration, the place of Westminster was founded and consecrated to the honour of God, and specially deputed for the buriall of kings, and a treasury or repository of their royall ornaments.” Cressy's “Church History,” p. 64 b.

The fabulous story of King Lucius was abstracted by Venerable Bede from the “*Liber Pontificalis*,” a work which the learned Bishop Lloyd, of Worcester, in the preface to his “Historical Account of Church Government,” characterizes as “a Mixen of ill-contrived Forgeries.”



“brought hither twelve monks of the *Benedictine Order*,”\* (probably from Glastonbury), to whom both himself and the King made various grants of landed property, as well as rich presents in gold.

After the assumption of the English throne by Canute in the year 1017, this monastery appears to have been taken under his especial care, in consequence of the extraordinary interest which he had conceived for the conversation of Wulnoth, its then abbot, who was celebrated for “his great wisdom and fine elocution.” We are farther told, says Widmore, “that for his sake that prince came frequently to the abbey, and that from his interest at court the monastery was preserved from any molestation in those troublesome times.”† The same author adds, “it being so near the *King’s Palace*, no wonder that the king and his courtiers were acquainted with the church and the abbot, and became benefactors to the place.”

This allusion to a royal habitation, as existing at Westminster in the reign of King Canute, is somewhat corroborated by Norden, who states,—but on what authority has not been traced,—that “in the time of Edward the Confessor, a palace at Westminster was destroyed by fire, which had been inhabited by Canute about the year 1035.‡” A supposed stronger testimony of there having been a royal abode upon this spot, even at an antecedent period to the above, has been deduced from the rescript or bull of Pope

\* Will. Malm. “*De Gestis Pontifical.*” p. 141.

† “*History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*,” p. 8.

‡ “*Speculum Britanniae*,” Part I., p. 44. Canute or Knoute, as he is called Peter Langtofte’s *Metrical Chronicle*, died in 1036. “*Seuenten yere*,” says that writer,

———— “was he kyng borgh conquest & desceit,

At Westmynstere he ligges in a toumbe purtreit.”

This, however, is not correct, for Canute was buried at Winchester.

Nicholas II., inserted in what is denominated King Edward's third charter to the abbey at Westminster, granted in 1065. "Because," says the pontiff, "the place where the said church and monastery were built was anciently the *seat of kings,—et quia antiquitus sedes est*—therefore, by the authority of God and his holy Apostles, and of this Roman see and our own, We grant, permit, and solidly confirm, that hereafter, for ever, it be the Place of the king's constitution and consecration, the repository of the imperial regalia, and a perpetual habitation of monks," &c.\*

There are, however, several considerations which may induce us to refrain from yielding an entire credence to the opinion that there was a royal palace at Westminster before the reign of the Confessor himself. Edric Streon, through whose repeated treachery to the Saxon cause, Canute was alone beholden for dominion in England, was as though in retribution for his crimes, beheaded, by command of the monarch he had served, within the royal palace *in London*, and his body was *flung out of a window into the Thames*,† an event which could scarcely have occurred at Westminster. Again, the first charter which King Edward granted to Abbot Wulnoth and the monks of Westminster, was tested "*in palatio regio*" at *London*, in the year 1045. It may therefore be inferred, that there was no regal habitation at Westminster at that time. In regard to the rescript of Pope Nicholas, we briefly remark that the charter itself, in which it appears, is considered by our best antiquaries as of "very dubious authority."‡

\* Dugdale's "Monasticon," (edition 1817), vol. i. p. 295, from Bibl. Cott. MS. Faust. A. III. fol. 31 b.

† Will. Malm., p. 73; and Matt. West., p. 402.

‡ "Monasticon," vol. i. p. 268. See also Dr. Hickes's preface to "Literatura Septentrionalis," pp. 37, 38.



The earliest document of a remote age, from which the existence of a palatial residence on this spot may be directly inferred, is a charter given by Edward the Confessor to the abbey of Ramsey. That charter was "made" at *Westminster*;\* and although there is no date attached, we are enabled, from the name of Archbishop Stigand occurring in it, as a subscribing witness, to determine that it could not have been granted before 1052, in which year that prelate was first promoted to the see of Canterbury.

About this period, as there is every reason to believe, King Edward was proceeding with his re-construction of St. Peter's Church and Monastery at Westminster; and it may be offered as a reasonable surmise, that he himself erected the PALACE there, from a desire to forward, by his own presence, the efficient progress of the splendid work which he had undertaken. Sulcardus says, "he pressed on the work very earnestly, having appropriated to it a tenth of his entire substance in gold, silver, cattle, and all other possessions." Compared with the former edifice, it was a very magnificent fabric; and according to Matthew Paris,† it afterwards became an example much followed in the construction of other churches; its general plan being that of a cross, to which the historian appears to allude, by the words "*novo compositionis genere construxerat*;" the earlier Saxon churches having been built without transepts.

Edward, on the completion of his church, determined to have it dedicated in the most solemn and impressive manner; and with that intent summoned a General Assembly,

\* "*Historia Ramesiensis*," cap. cxiii. Gale, XV. Scriptores.

† This writer, speaking of King Edward, says, "*Sepultus est Londini, in ecclesia quam ipse novo compositionis genere construxerat, à qua post multi ecclesias construentes exemplum adepti, opus illud expensis emulabantur sumptuosius.*"—*Historia Major*; p. 2, Tiguri, 1589.

at Westminster, of all the Bishops and great men in the kingdom, to be witnesses of the ceremony, which was appointed to take place on the day of the Holy Innocents (December the 28th), 1065. "About midwinter," says the Saxon Chronicle, "King Edward came to Westminster, and had the minster there consecrated, which he had himself built to the honour of God and St. Peter, and all God's Saints. This church-hallowing was on Childermas Day, and he was buried on Twelfth Day in the same minster."\* Whether Edward was present at this consecration is doubtful, as the annalists vary in their relations; one writer affirming that he was seized with a sudden illness on the night before Christmas Day, which prevented his attendance, and another that he sickened immediately after the ceremony. Certain it is, that he died either on the fourth or fifth of January, 1066, and was shortly after buried before the high altar in the new church.†

\* This is corroborated by the "Saxon Chronicle," copied by Lambard, and now preserved in the library at Christ-Church, Canterbury. See Lye's Saxon Dictionary (Manning's edition) Appendix. The following is the passage:

"MLXV. *And Eadweard cyng com to Westmynstere to þam mid-pintre. 7 þ̅ mȳnstre p̅ær let halgian. Þe he pȳlf ȝetimbode on cīlða mæssas dæg. 7 he forþfereþ on twelftan æfen.*" And King Edward came to Westminster about midwinter, and the minster there which he had himself built, he let be hallowed on Childermas Day; and he died on the eve of Twelfth Day.

† Robert of Gloucester states that he died on the 4th of January, 1066, immediately after he had related the vision in which the calamities which were to desolate his country had been revealed.

þo Seynt Edward adde þ̅s ȳtold, he closede boþe h̅s eȳe,  
 And þe verþe dāȳ of Janȳuere in þ̅s manere gan deȳe.  
 Al þe franchȳse of Engelande, & al joye & blȳsse,  
 Mȳd h̅m was vaste ȳbured, þo me bured h̅m ȳwȳs.  
 And þat me vond sone afterward mȳd monȳ deluol cas.  
 At Westmynstre a tuelfþe dāȳ þ̅s gode man ȳbured was."

Vide Rob. of Gloucester's Chronicle, Hearne's edit. reprint, p. 49

That the palatial buildings at Westminster formed the principal residence of King Edward, may be inferred from the fact of our early chroniclers having assigned the occurrence of several of his recorded visions to that spot. Those of the drowning of a Danish King who had undertaken to invade England; of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; and finally, of the grievous afflictions which his country would undergo after his own decease, were of this number; and tradition has even identified the chamber where he died, as that which after generations called the *Painted Chamber*, and by which name it is even yet distinguished.\* Robert of Gloucester has introduced the names of Editha, his Queen, her brother Harold, and

“ Roberd, þat *wardeyn* was of þe *palays* ýwýs,

among those persons who attended his death-bed.

The simplicity and piety of Edward the Confessor, his munificence towards the church, and above all, to use the phraseology of the times, his “abstraction from fleshly delights,” rendered him a great favourite with the monkish historians, and they have not scrupled to attribute numerous miracles to his sanctity. He was so much in love, they tell us, with retirement and devotional reflection, that being once disturbed at a country seat by the singing of nightingales, he prayed that they might no more be heard in that place; which petition, continues the legend, was granted accordingly. Even the time of his death, say these fabulists, was made known to him by the delivery of a ring and mes-

\* In the ceremonial of the marriage of Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward the Fourth, in the year 1477, the Painted Chamber is spoken of by the appellation of *St. Edward's Chamber*; and Sir Edward Coke, in his fourth Institute, states, that the causes of Parliament were in ancient time shewn in *La Chambre Depeint*, or St. Edward's Chamber.



sage from St. John the Evangelist; and within six years after his decease, according to Ailred and Matthew Paris, the following miracle was performed at his tomb.

In the time of William the Conqueror, when all English prelates were “sifted to the branne,” a Synod was held in the church at Westminster, by Archbishop Lanfranc (anno 1074), to examine, avowedly, into the qualifications and conduct of the clergy, “yet with the covert design of making room for the new-come Normans,” by ejecting such of the Bishops and Abbots as had but little learning and influence. At this Synod, Wulstan Bishop of Worcester was charged with being “a most illiterate and foolish man, and unfit for the station he held; a very idiot, unacquainted with the French language, and incapable either to instruct the church or counsel the king.” His pastoral staff and ring were therefore demanded of him by Lanfranc, in the king’s name; but Wulstan, grasping his staff with an unmoved countenance, made this reply: “I know, my lord archbishop, that I am entirely unfit for, and unworthy so high a station, being undeserving of the honour, and unequal to the task; however, I think it unreasonable that you should demand that staff which I never received from you, yet in some measure I submit to your sentence, and will resign it; but consider it just to make that resignation to King Edward, who conferred it on me.” Thus ending, he left the synod, and crossing the church to Edward’s tomb, said, whilst standing before it, “Thou knowest, O holy king! how unwillingly I undertook this office, and even by force, for neither the desire of the prelates, the petition of the monks, nor the voice of the nobility prevailed, till your commands obliged me; but see! a new king, new laws; a new bishop pronounces a new sentence. Thee they accuse of a fault for making me a bishop, and me of assurance for

accepting the charge. Nevertheless, to them I will not, but to thee I resign my staff." Then raising his arm, he placed the staff upon the tomb, which was of stone, and leaving it, went arrayed as a monk, and sat with them in the chapter-house. When this became known in the synod, a messenger was sent for the staff, but he found it adhere so firmly to the stone that it could by no means be removed; nor could either the king or the archbishop himself disengage it from the tomb. Wulstan was then sent for, and the staff readily submitted to his touch; which being considered as a consummation of the miracle, he was allowed to retain his episcopal dignity.—Such implicit credit was given to this story, that, according to the annals of Burton Abbey, King John urged it to Pandulph, the Pope's legate, as a proof of the right of the English kings to nominate bishops.\*

The Saxon Chronicle, under the date 1066, says, "this year came *King Harold* from York to Westminster, on the Easter succeeding the midwinter when the king (Edward) died."

After the decisive victory obtained at Hastings, in the same year, over the brave but unfortunate Harold, *William the Norman*, on his arrival near London, made it one of his first cares to give thanks for his success at King Edward's tomb, at Westminster;—and, as it would seem from a passage in William of Malmesbury, the "better to ingratiate himself with the English," by displaying a veneration for the Confessor's memory,—he fixed on the new church for the scene of his own coronation, and accordingly, on the Christmas Day following, he was crowned by the side of Edward's tomb. At a subsequent period, he caused the remains of his

\* Brayley's "History, &c. of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster," vol. I. p. 25: 4to, 1818.

predecessor to be re-interred within "a curious and more costly tomb of stone."

In the year 1069, as appears from the "Annals of Waverley," Elfric, abbot of Peterborough, was tried before the king, *in curia*, at Westminster. This is one of the first notices on record of the holding a *law-court* on this spot.

According to Hoveden a Great Council was held at Westminster in 1074; but the Saxon Chronicle states it to have been held in 1076. Another council was held there in 1084. In the following year, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, the king (William the Conqueror) kept his court at Westminster during the festival of Whitsuntide, when he received the homage and oath of fealty from his subjects; and on that occasion knighted his youngest son, Henry. It has been said, that the Conqueror "enlarged the palace to the northward," but this is questionable.\* It appears that this sovereign by a charter dated at "Westminster," and now preserved among the archives in the Tower, confirmed to Hugh de Coleham, a grant which had been made to him and his heirs by the abbot (Gilbertus) and convent, of being steward of the abbey at Westminster.†

In the reign of *William Rufus*, who, according to Holinshead, "was proclaimed and crowned at Westminster, on Sunday the 6th of the kalends of October (Sept. 26th) 1087,"

\* The assertion was possibly grounded on a surmise in Strype's *Stow*, viz. "It is not to be doubted but that King William I., as he was crowned there, so he built much at this palace, for he found it far inferior to the building of princely palaces in France." See vol. ii. p. 627, edit. 1753.

† Rymer's "*Fœdera*," vol. i. pt. 1, p. 2, edit. 1816.—In his eighteenth year (anno 1084) the same king, in the presence of all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, justices, earls, and all his barons, in his council at "Westminster," confirmed and signed (with a cross) the dignities and liberties which William, bishop of Durham, granted to the prior and monks of St. Cuthbert.—*Ibid.* p. 3, from archives in the Tower.



the palatial buildings received a memorable accession by the erection of the *Great Hall*,—of which Matthew Paris thus speaks under the date 1099.—‘In the same year, King William, on returning from Normandy into England, held for the first time his court in the *New Hall* at Westminster. Having entered to inspect it, with a large military retinue, some persons remarked that ‘it was too large, and larger than it should have been;’ the king replied, that ‘it was not half so large as it should have been, and that it was only a *bed-chamber* in comparison with the building which he intended to make.’\* At this court, the king bestowed the bishopric of Durham on his favourite Ranulph Flambard. In the following year Rufus kept the festival of Whitsuntide at Westminster.†

Fabyan, when speaking of the grievous exactions of William Rufus (under the year 1097), says, “the kynge filled the spiritualtie and temporaltie with unreasonable taskys,

\* Matt. Paris, p. 51, edit. 1589. The exact words of Paris are as follow :—  
 “Eodem anno,—Rex Anglorum Willielmus de Normannia in Angliam rediens, tenuit primo curiam suam apud Westmonasterium in Nova Aula :—Quam cum inspecturus cum multa militia introisset, cum alij eam dixissent magnam nimis esse et æquo majorem, dixit Rex eam debitæ magnitudinis dimidia parte carere, nec eam esse nisi thalamum ad palatium quod erat facturus.” This account is corroborated both by Brompton and Knighton : vide Twysden’s “Decem Scriptores,” p. 995 and p. 2369. The following passage, which appears in Stow’s “Chronicle,” (4to. 1600) p. 187, has been also attributed to Matthew Paris, as if asserted by him in connection with the foregoing account of the boastful declaration of William Rufus, viz. “A diligent searcher might yet finde out the foundation of the Hall which he had proposed to build, stretching from the river of Thames even unto the common highway.” On referring carefully, however, to the printed copies of Paris’s history, no such remark has been found ; and the probability is, that it originated either with Stow himself, or with John Hooker, in his enlargement of Holinshed’s Chronicles, in 1588. After all, it is very questionable whether there was ever any real ground for the remark thus stated to have been made by Paris.

† Madox’s “Hist. and Antiquities of the Exchequer,” vol. I., p. 9.

and tributys, the which he spent upon the *Towre of London*, and the makynge of *Westmynster Hall*.”\* Whilst the work was in progress, the king went into Normandy, having “moche payne to rule the Normans, for they rebellyd often agayne him.” On his return, “when he saw the Hall of Westmynster y<sup>t</sup> he had caused to be buylded, he was therwith discontented y<sup>t</sup> it was so lytle. Wherefore, as it is rehersed of some wryters, he entended, if he had lyued, to have made a larger, and y<sup>t</sup> to have serued for a chaumber.”†

*Henry the First* held his court at Westminster, at many different times, and the records of his presence there are so numerous, that we may fairly consider it as having been his principal abode. He was crowned at Westminster, according to the Saxon Chronicle, on Sunday, the 5th of August, 1100, after having sworn at the altar “to annul all the unrighteous acts that took place in his brother’s time.” At the festival of St. Michael, 1102, he held a great Council at Westminster, at which were present “all the chief men of England, both clergy and laity.‡ In August, 1108, he again held a Court at Westminster, where he filled up so many vacant bishoprics and abbacies, both in England and Normandy, “that there was no man,” says the Saxon Chronicle, “who remembered that so many together were ever given away before.”§ The good Queen Maud, King Henry’s consort, who died in this

\* Fabyan’s “Chronicles,” p. 252, edit. 1811. The writer adds, that after this return of the king from Normandy, “many wonderfull prodygges and tokens were shewed in Englonde, as y<sup>e</sup> swelling or rysing of the water of Thamys, in such wyse y<sup>t</sup> it drowned diuerse townes. Also the deuyll was seene walke in mannys lykenesse, w<sup>th</sup> dyuerse other thynges whiche I ouer passe.” Ibid. Rufus was no favourite with the monkish annalists, and they have contrived to stigmatize his memory far more than his true deserts merited.

† Vide Fabyan’s “Chronicles,” ut sup.

‡ In the same year, as appears from Eadmer and other annalists, a Synod was held in the abbey church at Westminster, by Archbishop Anselm.

§ Saxon “Chronicle,” Ingram’s translation, p. 330.

palace on the kalends of May (May the first) 1118,\* was buried in the "old chapter-house" of St. Peter's church; to which, in the time of Lent, she had been accustomed to walk barefoot, in a garment of hair, to perform her devotions and wash the feet of the poor.

In a charter of *King Stephen* (who was crowned in the abbey church on St. Stephen's Day, 1135), quoted by Madox, his court and palace are said to have been at Westminster.† In the same year, at the festival of Easter, the king held a splendid court and general council within his palatial residence: the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Rouen were present, together with fifteen bishops (four of them of Normandy), and many of the laity. This monarch is the reputed founder of *St. Stephen's Chapel* (the late House of Commons), which was so dedicated in honour of the Proto-Martyr.

*Henry the Second* was crowned at Westminster, (with Eleanor his consort) on Sunday, December the 19th, 1154; and he having been "blessed as King," was with great splendour placed upon the throne of the realm.‡

In the 9th of this sovereign (anno 1163), as appears from the "Rotulus Cancellariæ," the sheriffs of London were allowed, in their account rendered in the Exchequer, the sum of £9. 13s. 9½d., paid by them for the works of the king's palace of Westminster, and 67s. for "*scindulæ*" (shingles) to cover the palace: 10s. to Alnod for cleansing the king's houses were also allowed, and 10s. for rushe s.

There is a passage in Stow which, at the first view, would seem to be immediately connected with the above repairs; yet, on a full consideration of Fitz-Stephens, to whom Stow

\* Saxon "Chronicle," Ingram's trans. p. 329.

† "Quoniam Curia et Domus Regiæ in fundo illo [sc. in Manerio Westmonasterii] consistent." Vide "Formulare Angl." Num. D.

‡ Vide Henry of Huntingdon, anno 1154.



refers, there is strong reason to believe that Westminster was not the place originally meant. The passage follows : "This palace was repaired about the yeere 1163, by Thomas Becket, Chancellor of England, with exceeding great celerity and speed, which before was ready to have fallen downe."\* These words are evidently a deduction from Fitz-Stephen's "Life of St. Thomas à Becket," but as applied to *Westminster*, they seem erroneous.—"Through the industry and counsel of this chancellor" [Becket], says Fitz-Stephen, "the earls and barons assisting, the noble realm of England was renovatèd as a new spring; the Holy Church was honoured, and each vacant bishopric or abbey was bestowed, without simony, on an honest person; the king, by the favour of the King of Kings, prospered in all his affairs; the kingdom of England was enriched, its horn of plenty was filled, the hills were cultivated, the valleys abounded in grain, the meadows in cattle, and the downs in sheep. The Chancellor Thomas caused the Palatial seat of the kingdom at London, after its ruin, to be repaired with wonderful celerity, completing such a work between a certain Easter and Whitsuntide. There were so many carpenters and other workmen labouring assiduously, with so much noise and vigour, that when close together one could hardly hear the voice of another."†

\* "Survey of London," p. 884, edit. 1618.

† The original passage is as follows :—

"Hujus Cancellarii industria et consilio, annitentibus comitibus et baronibus, nobile illud Regnum Angliæ, tanquam ver novum renovatur, ecclesia sancta honoratur, vacans episcopatus vel abbatia honestæ personæ, sine symoniâ, donatur. Rex, favente Rege regum, in omnibus negotiis suis prosperatur; Angliæ regnum ditatur; pleno replet illud copia cornu; colles culti sunt, valles habundant frumento, pascuæ pecoribus, balantibus ovilia. Cancellarius Thomas regni sedem palatium videlicet Lundoniæ, post ruinam, reparare facit, mira celeritate tantum opus perficiens intra quoddam pascha et pentecosten: tot fabris liguariis et aliis operariis tantæ instanciæ motu et sonitu operantibus, ut vix alter alterum proxime admotum posset audire loquentem." W. Fitz-

Now it cannot reasonably be argued, that the palatial seat here alluded to was at *Westminster*, when the word *London* is so expressly introduced. Besides, Fitz-Stephen himself, in the Introduction to his account of Becket (which furnishes a very curious picture of the metropolis in the time of Henry the Second, of whom he was a cotemporary), has specially distinguished the Tower palatine, "*arcem palatinam*," from the royal palace at Westminster. After speaking of the walls and fortifications of London, he thus proceeds:—"On the west again, and on the bank of the river, the Royal Palace exalts its head, and stretches wide, an incomparable structure, furnished with bastions and a breastwork, at the distance of *two miles* from the city, but united to it, as it were, by a populous suburb."\*

From the above circumstances it may justly be assumed, that the building stated to have been so expeditiously repaired by the Chancellor Becket, was in London itself, and not on the spot now under review. Hume says, that the custody of the Tower was committed to Becket in the early part of Henry's reign; and it may therefore be suggested that Fitz-Stephen refers to some part of that edifice rather than to Westminster.

Henry the eldest son of Henry II., was crowned king in the abbey church, anno 1170, in his father's life-time, his father having previously obtained the assent of a General

Stephen, vitæ Sancti T. Cantuariens. in Bibl. Lansdown. No. 392, fol. 11 b. There is another copy of Fitz-Stephen's Life of St. Thomas à Becket, in the Cottonian Library, Julius A. xi. sm. 4to. in which the above passage occurs also, with a few merely verbal differences, at fol. 114 b.

\* Although Fitz-Stephen speaks of Westminster as being united to London by a populous suburb, his words must be received with some limitation; for it was not until three or four centuries after his days that the Strand was formed into a continued street. The village of Charing was also interposed between the Strand and Westminster.

Assembly of his principal subjects at Windsor. The coronation feast was held in the *Great Hall* at Westminster, and King Henry, the father, "upon that daie, served his sonne at the table as Sewer, bringing up the bore's head with trumpets before it, according to the maner. Whereupon, according to the old adage,

Immutant mores homines cum dantur honores,

the young man conceiving a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more stately countenance than he had wont; the Archbishop of Yorke, who sat by him, marking his behaviour, turned unto him and said, 'Be glad, my good sonne, there is not another prince in the world that hath such a Sewer at his table.' To this the new king answered, as it were disdainfullie, thus: 'Why doost thou marvell at that? My father, in doing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him; he, being borne of princelie blood onlie on the mother's side, serveth me that am a king borne, having both a king to my father, and a queene to my mother.' Thus the young man, of an evill and perverse nature, was puffed up in pride by his father's unseemlie dooinge.\*"

In Lent, 1176, Henry II. held a general Council at Westminster, at which many of the spiritual and temporal lords were present, when the king sat to determine contests between Alfonso, king of Castile, and Sancho, king of Navarre, who had agreed to submit their disputes to his decision.†

*Richard I.* held a splendid court at Westminster, on Sunday, the 3d of the nones of September, 1189, when he was crowned in the abbey church, in the presence of the "assembled archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and a great number

\* Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. ii. p. 130; (from Matt. Paris and Polydore Vergil), edit. 1807.

† Matt. Paris, "Historia Major." Tiguri, 1589, p. 127.



of knights." This assembly was unfortunately distinguished on account of a massacre of the Jews. "Whilst the king sat at dinner, some principal men of the Jews came to bring him presents; but because the Jews were commanded, the day before, not to come to the king's court on the day of his coronation, the common people committed great outrages upon their persons, and the Londoners slew many of the Jews within the city, and burnt the houses of many of them, and of divers other persons. Hereupon, the next day the king caused several of those malefactors to be arrested, and adjudged them to be hanged."\* It should be remarked, that on the preceding day the king had given orders that neither Jews nor women should be present at the solemnity, "for feare," says Stow, "of enchantments, which were wont to be practised." At the coronation feast, as appears from Hoveden and Diceto, who were eye-witnesses of the ceremony, the citizens of London officiated as the king's butlers, and those of Winchester served up the viands.

In Brompton's Chronicle, under the date 1193, it is stated that 'King Richard the First, being at dinner at Westminster, in the Hall which is called the *Little Hall*, received tidings that King Philip of France had entered Normandy, and besieged Vernoi, whereupon he swore that he would never turn away his face until he had met him and fought with him; and having directed an opening to be made in the wall (the remains of which, according to the Chronicler, were visible when he wrote), he immediately made his way through it, and proceeded to Portsmouth.'†

In the "Chronicle of London," edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, (from the Harleian MS. No. 565) is this

\* Madox's "History of the Exchequer," (from R. Hoveden), vol. i. p. 21.

† Brompton's "Chronicle," in Decem Scrip. p. 1259.

passage, under the 8th of Richard I., anno 1197: "In this yere the Kyng came into Engeland, and tok the castell of Notynggham, and disherited John his brother. And the same yere Kyng Richard was crowned ageyne at Westm."\* In the 10th year of this sovereign, *Elyas* the engineer, or architect, was allowed ten marks by the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, for the repairs of the *King's Houses* at Westminster, "by writ of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chief Justicier."†

It appears from the "Placitorum Abbreviatio," that in the above year also (10th Richard I.), a *Fine* was levied in the King's Court at Westminster. This is remarkable only, from being the first notice of the King's Courts, which occurs on the Placita Rolls.‡

*King John* was crowned in St. Peter's Church at Westminster, on Ascension Day, May the 27th, 1199, "after the man'er then vsed, with great solemnitie, and no lesse rejoicing of all such as were present." Seventeen Archbishops and Bishops attended this ceremony. On the 19th of September following, a Synod was held at Westminster by Archbishop Hubert, "in which diverse constitutions were made and ordeined touching the administration of sacraments, and other ecclesiastical matters."

\* Matt. Paris and other annalists say, that this second coronation took place at Winchester.

† "Et Elyæ Ingeniatori x marcæ ad reparationem Domorum Regis apud Westmonasterium, per breve H. Cantuar. Episcopi." Madox's "Exchequer," vol. ii. p. 206, from Mag. Rot. 10 R. I. Rot. 12 a, Lond. & Midd. Walpole has erroneously assigned this record to the reign of King John, anno 1209. Vide his "Works," vol. iii. p. 12, note: 4to, 1797.

‡ "Placitorum in Domo Cap. West. Asserv. Abbreviatio," p. 9 a. It appears from Hoveden, that an Ecclesiastical Council was held in the '*Chapel of the Infirmary*,' Westminster, in 1194, when Earl John, the king's brother and several of his partizans were excommunicated for rebellion.

We now advance to a period in which the documentary memoranda respecting this palatial residence become more specific and accessible—chiefly in consequence of the recent publication of “The Close Rolls,”\* the originals of which are preserved among the invaluable national archives in the Tower of London. These records include many curious entries concerning the “King’s Houses” (*Domus Regis*), as they were then denominated at Westminster.

The following entries on the Close Rolls give us some information as to the state of the palatial buildings in the time of King John.

On the 19th of October, 1205 (7th John) ‘the sum of £10. was directed to be paid to the king’s treasurer, Robert de

\* The Records “intituled *ROTULI LITTERARUM CLAUSARUM*, or CLOSE ROLLS, are a series of Parchment Rolls, commencing with the sixth year of the reign of King John, anno domini 1204, on which are recorded or enrolled all Mandates, Letters, and Writs of a private nature. They are denominated *Close*, in contradistinction to another series of Rolls called *Patent*. The entries registered on the Close Rolls are Letters addressed in the King’s name to individuals, for special and particular purposes, and were folded, or *closed up*, and sealed on the outside with the Great Seal.”—

The most antient of the Close Rolls now extant is that of the sixth of King John, anno Domini 1204; and there is reason to believe that the Roll in question is the first of that species of Rolls. It was not then, however, styled a *Close* Roll, that term being first applied to a Roll of the eighth year of the same king. The custom of recording documents on Rolls of parchment, though of antient date, commenced here after the Norman Conquest; for during the Anglo-Saxon dynasty transfers of property and legal grants were registered in the “Land-boc,” or in the vacant leaves of Mass-books belonging to churches and monasteries. The exact time when the practice of making regular enrolments was introduced, is uncertain; but it appears probable that it prevailed shortly after the Conquest, and that it was first adopted in the Court of the Exchequer. Vide “*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Lond. Asservati*,” edited by Thomas Duffus Hardy, esq. Unfortunately, our references to this very valuable publication must be limited to the eighth year of Henry the Third; the Close Rolls not being yet published beyond that period.



Leveland, for the repair of the *king's houses* at Westminster, by the view and testimony of lawful men ; \* and on the 12th of July, 1207 (9th John), ' 100 shillings, if need be, were ordered to be paid to the same person to cover (or roof) the said houses.' † In the autumn of the latter year also, ' the barons of the Exchequer were ordered to account with Robert de Leveland for what he had expended for the laying *fine sand* in the king's houses at Westminster, when the king slept there on the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday next before the feast of All Saints.' ‡ Again, on the 2d of October, 1214, ' the sheriff of London was commanded to allow the keeper of the king's houses at Westminster to have carpenters for the repair thereof.' § On the 3d of January, in the same year, ' the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer were commanded by writ to deliver to the abbot and convent of the Holy Cross at Waltham the *tin lavatory* (" *stag-neum lavatorium* ") which was constructed in the king's house at Westminster in the time of his father, and was afterwards removed.'

A wardrobe account, preserved in the British Museum, dated the 7th of May, in the 14th of John (anno 1213) states that ' a payment of sixpence was made to *Roger Aquarius* for a *bath* for the king's use at Westminster, on the eve of the preceding Christmas : || the same account, under the date December 24th, mentions a payment on Christmas eve, by the king, at Westminster, of three marks, for three *barrels of honey* ; thus proving that King John spent his Christmas at Westminster in both the above years. ¶

On the 2d of October, 1214, (16th of John) ' the sheriff

\* " Close Rolls," p. 555.

† Ibid. p. 87 b. On the same day ' the bailiff of Cheshunt was commanded to allow *shingles* for the roof to be made in the wood at Cheshunt.' Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 95. § Ibid. p. 174.

|| Vide Ayscough's " Catalogue," 4573, art. 62.

¶ Ibid. art. 66.

of London was commanded to allow the keeper of the king's houses at Westminster, to have *carpenters* for the repair thereof.\* From the very few records, however, which are extant, bearing teste by King John at Westminster,† it may be deduced that this palace was but little inhabited by him during the whole of his reign.

His eldest son, *Henry the Third*, was crowned at Gloucester, on the 28th of October, 1216, he being then a mere youth of ten years of age. Though despotic in principle, and arbitrary in rule, the reign of this prince (which was one of the longest recorded in our annals), proved especially propitious to the monastic and palatial edifices congregated upon this spot. Within four years after his accession, viz. on Whitsun-eve, (May the 16th), 1220, he commenced the new buildings of Westminster abbey by laying the first stone of a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary,‡ at the east end of the old church, on the spot now occupied by Henry the Seventh's chapel. On the following day, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was re-crowned in the abbey church. These facts are substantiated by an entry on the Close Rolls; namely, 'By writ,

\* "Close Rolls," p. 174.

† The only one of his reign, that appears in the "Foedera," is the king's mandate for committing the *custody* of the church and monastic possessions of Christchurch, Canterbury, to four persons, who are named therein: it is dated January 23d, in the 9th year of his reign,—anno 1208.

‡ "Sabbatho autem, in vigilia Pentecostes, inceptum est novum opus Cappellæ Beatæ Virginis apud Westmonasterium, rege Henrico existente, fundatore et primi lapidis in fundamento ponente."—Matt. Paris, "Hist. Maj." p. 310. edit. 1640.

He was not, however, although denominated the founder both by Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, the sole contributor to that edifice, since it appears from the archives of the Dean and Chapter, that many spiritual benefits were granted by the abbot and convent to those who aided the work; and that various rents and tenements were given by private persons towards its completion.—Vide Widmore's "Hist. of Westminster Abbey," p. 57.

dated on the 19th of November, 5th Henry III., the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer were commanded to deliver to the prior of Westminster the king's *golden spurs*, which were made for his use at his first coronation at Westminster, and which he had given towards the new work of the chapel of St. Mary.\* At a subsequent time he rebuilt the eastern part of the abbey church in the magnificent style which it still exhibits; as will be more particularly adverted to hereafter.

Henry's additions to the Palace must certainly have been of great importance, although (with some little exception) they cannot now be distinctly specified; but the numerous entries which appear in the Close and Liberate Rolls of his reign, in regard to the repairs and decorations of the "king's houses" at Westminster, abundantly shew that the works were continually in progress, and that the royal apartments were then fitted up and embellished in a style of greater splendour than had ever before been attained. Though grievous in his exactions, and oppressive in his government, Henry was a great patron of the arts; and those of the goldsmith, the embroiderer, the painter, and the architect, are presumed to have arisen to a very exalted state of excellence during the period in which he sate upon the throne.†

\* "Close Rolls," p. 440, b.

† Henry the Third's *Great seal*, of which there is an engraving in the 1st volume of the new edition of Rymer's "*Fœdera*," was made in the year 1218. In the "Close Rolls," at p. 381, is a writ of Liberate, whereby the treasurer of the exchequer was commanded to reimburse *Walter* the goldsmith, who made the king's seal, the five marks of silver used in making the same; he is also to have for the workmanship what will content him; and, at p. 383, we find that the said *Walter*, whose surname appears to have been *de Ripa*, "was content to receive 40s. for the labour he had bestowed on that work." Vide Hardy's Introduction to the 1st volume of the Close Rolls. This gentleman computes that the sum paid to *Walter* for his labour, would amount to £31, 10s. of modern English



On the 4th of November, 1217 (2d of Henry III.), 'the mayor and sheriffs of London were commanded to pay 100s. out of the farm of that city, for the repair of the king's house at Westminster,' for which allowance was to be made to them at the exchequer.\*

In the same year, on the 2d of December, the 'barons of the exchequer were commanded to make the same daily allowance to Margery, the widow of Robert de Leveland, for the custody of the king's houses at Westminster, as her husband had formerly received.'† This entry is very singularly corroborated by the Testa de Nevill, which states, that Margery de Keveland, (as there spelt, from an evident mistake in the initial letter), 'keeps the king's palace at Westminster by serjeanty, and receives 8*d.* daily, out of the king's purse.'‡

On the 2d of April, 1218, (2d Hen. III.) the treasurer and chamberlains were directed to pay to Odo, the goldsmith, and the keepers of the king's houses at Westminster, ten marks to repair the *quay*, and to make other repairs.§

In February, 1219 (3d Hen. III.), five marks were to be paid to the same person to repair the king's *bridge* and *quay*; and in April 1221 (5th Hen. III.) Odo, the goldsmith, received ten pounds for the repair of the king's hall and houses at Westminster; and in May, twenty pounds more were paid. Further sums, amounting to fifty pounds and 'twenty-five marks,' were also paid to Odo, in that and the following year, for other repairs of the king's houses at this place.|| In April, 1223 (7th Henry III.), twenty pounds

money. He also judiciously remarks, that "the beauty and elegance of the seal alluded to still excites great admiration, on account of the perfection of which it is a proof the graphic art had attained, in an age which has been called barbarous."

\* "Close Rolls," p. 340. † Ibid. p. 346. ‡ "Testa de Nevill," p. 361.

§ "Close Rolls," p. 358. || Ibid. pp. 466 b, 472, 497, 504, 509, 517.

were to be paid for repairs of the quay; and in the August following, a further sum of twenty pounds was ordered to be issued to Odo, the goldsmith, 'for the construction of a wall at the king's *gate* at Westminster;' and twenty pounds more 'for the repair of the quay, the windows of Westminster Hall, and the performance of other works.\*' Small sums of fifteen marks and twenty marks respectively, were to be paid for the works of the king's houses here in June and October, 1218; and on the 25th of April, 1220 (4th Henry III.) thirty pounds were ordered to be expended in repairing the same, prior to his coronation on the ensuing Pentecost. Within a year and a half from that time, other sums amounting to £43. 10s., were directed to be paid for the like purpose.

From the large total amount of the sums thus expended, compared with the value of money in the present day, it is evident that the works then in progress must have been of considerable importance; and we cannot but conclude that they consisted of new buildings as well as of repairs. This inference is strengthened by other entries of the 6th, 7th, and 8th years of the same reign; namely, by writ, dated at Westminster on the 15th of July (6th Hen. III.), 1221, the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer were commanded to pay to William of Pontefract £33. 6s. 8d. for timber purchased for the king's houses on this spot; in September, 1223 (7th Henry III.), £30, and in the December following, 100s. were also directed to be paid for the works of the king's houses at Westminster. In February 1224, (8th Hen. III.), the Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to allow to the Sheriff of Kent £6. 9s. 10d., which he had expended in the purchase of stone for the building of the

\* "Close Rolls," pp. 389 b, 540, 558.

king's wall at Westminster. In the October following, twenty pounds more were paid for the works at the king's houses.\*

It is very remarkable that so many of the above payments should have been made to Odo, the *goldsmith*,—a business that of all others has so little connexion with the building profession: he must, however, be rather regarded as the superintendent, or paymaster, of the works, than as an architect. On the 28th of May (5th Henry III.), 1221, the king granted, by writ, to John of Canterbury, his *carpenter* of his houses at Westminster, in alms, one penny *per diem*.†

That Henry resided here generally in the 6th and 7th years of his reign, is apparent both from the Close Rolls and from other records. On the 21st of April 1222, (6th Hen. III.), the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer were directed to pay to the king's treasurer Richero de Fonte, 3*s.* 8*d.* to purchase *rushes* for the king's two chambers at Westminster.‡ On the first of December in the same year, 3*s.* 4*d.* was paid to the same to buy rushes for the king's *Great Chamber* §; and on the 5th of June, 1223, the sum of 3*s.* 11*d.* was directed to be paid for rushes for the king's *two chambers* at Westminster.|| On the 26th of August following, the Treasurer, &c. were commanded to pay 15*s.* 9*d.* for rushes for the king's houses against his coming hither on the eve of St. Bartholomew.¶ Various writs tested by the king at Westminster about the same period, are also extant.\*\* On the 19th of November in the same year, the Treasurer, &c. were commanded to pay £200 for the expences incurred by the king at Westminster on the feast of St. Martin in that year, and in removing from London to Guildford.††

\* "Close Rolls," pp. 465, 563, 578, 586, 622.

† Ibid. p. 460.

‡ Ibid. p. 493. § Ibid. p. 524. || Ibid. p. 550. ¶ Ibid. p. 561.

\*\* Vide "Reports on the Dignity of a Peer," app. i. pp. 3 and 4.

†† "Close Rolls," p. 522 b.



On the 26th of May 1223, (7th Hen. III.), the sheriff of London was commanded, by writ, to convey the timber of the *king's gibbet* from his houses at Westminster to the elm trees where robbers were accustomed to be hung.\* This probably was the "great gibbet" which Stow mentions the king had caused to be made in the preceding summer, after the house of the abbot's bailiff of Westminster (and other buildings) had been razed to the ground by the citizens of London, whose ire had been excited by the treacherous conduct of the bailiff at a great *wrestling* match in St. Giles's Fields.† Hubert de Burgh, the Chief Justiciary, took a summary and severe revenge on the citizens, three of whom were hanged, and many had their feet and hands cut off; and the king "took of the citizens sixtie pledges, which he sent to divers castles, and he deposed the maior, appointing a keeper over the cittie;" but, "after heavy threatenings, the citizens were reconciled, paying to the king many thousand marks."‡ Henry, indeed, appears to have constantly acted on the ungenerous principle of increasing the prosperity of Westminster at the expense of the inhabitants of London.

On the 29th of May, 1223, the Treasurer and Chamberlains were commanded to pay £150 for the discharge of the expenses incurred when the king was ill at Westminster, in the same year.‡

\* "Close Rolls," p. 548.

† There is a mandate extant, bearing date at St. Alban's, on the 22d of May, 4th of Henry III., by which the king 'orders the sheriff of Middlesex to cause to be made, without any delay, in the place where the *gallows* were formerly erected, namely at the Elms (ad ulmellos), two good gibbets of strong and excellent timber, for hanging robbers and other malefactors; the cost to be accounted for by the view and testimony of lawful men at the Exchequer.' Hubert de Burgh, 'our Justiciary,' is the subscribing witness.

‡ Vide Stow's "Chronicle," p. 269, edit. 1600. § "Close Rolls," p. 548.

Shortly before the illness thus spoken of, the sheriff of London was commanded to purchase 'six casks of Gascon wine, and to deposit the same in the king's *cellar* at Westminster.'\* This order affords a correlative proof of the continued residence of Henry in this palace in the early part of his reign.

The king kept his Christmas at Westminster in the year 1225, at which time he assembled a Great Council, for the purpose of obtaining a subsidy;—the improvident grants made in the two preceding reigns having greatly impoverished the crown. On this occasion the *Magna Charta*, (though with some variations,) which had been granted by King John, and the *Charta de Foresta*, were both confirmed. The proceedings of the Council are thus narrated by Matthew Paris:—

'1225. King Henry at Christmas held his court at Westminster, at which were present the clergy and people, with the great men of the kingdom. The solemnities being completed, Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciary, on the part of the king, stated before the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and all others, the losses and injuries which the king had suffered in parts beyond the sea, and by which not only the king, but many of the earls and barons also had been disinherited with him. He observed that, in a case where many were interested, the assistance of many was necessary. He requested therefore of all counsel and aid, whereby the lost dignities and rights of the crown of England might be recovered. For the full accomplishment of this, he believed it would satisfy the king if they would give the fifteenth part of the moveable property of the whole kingdom of England, both of the ecclesiastics and of the laity. On this proposi-

\* "Close Rolls," p. 536.

tion, the archbishops, and the whole assembly of bishops, earls and barons, abbots and priors, having deliberated, gave answer to the king, that they would readily agree to his requisition, if he would concede to them their long-demanded liberties. The king, induced by cupidity of gain, readily assented to what the great men demanded; and charters were immediately written out, sealed with the king's seal, and directed one to each of the counties of England: and to those provinces in which forests were constituted two charters were directed, namely one relative to general liberties, and the other to liberties of the forests.\*

"Thus at this Parliament," says Holinshed, "were made and confirmed those good lawes and laudable ordinances whiche have bin, from time to time, by the Kyngs and Princes of thys Realme conformed, so that a greate parte of the law now in vse dependeth of the same."

At another Council held at Westminster at the feast of St. Hilary, (January 13th,) and consisting of many bishops, prelates, and crowds of laity—"et laicorum turbis," Otho, the Pope's legate, complaining of the poverty of the Holy See, demanded that two prebends from every cathedral in England, and certain portions of the revenues of each convent, should be assigned to the pope. But the bishops and prelates resisted this demand, as interfering with the interests of the king, and, generally, with those of the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices: they further observed that, in the absence of the king (through infirmity), and of the archbishops and other prelates, it was impossible for them to grant what was required.†

\* Matt. Paris, "Hist. Major," Tiguri, 1589, p. 311. It appears from the same author, (vide "Additamenta," No. I. Wats's edit. 1640,) that the fifteenth thus imposed amounted to 59,000*l*.

† Matt. Paris, "Hist. Major," p. 316. The king's illness, at this time, is



In 1229, Stephen, the pope's chaplain and nuncio, coming to England to solicit aid for his master to enable him to carry on war against the emperor Frederic, the king summoned a Council to meet at Westminster, on the second Sunday after Easter (April 29th), when the "archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, knights templars and hospitallers, earls, barons, rectors of churches, and tenants in capite," assembled to hear and consider the pope's requisition. The nuncio demanded a tenth of all the movables of the whole clergy and laity of England, Wales, and Ireland; and the king having previously promised, by his procurators at Rome, to pay this tax, said nothing, seeming by his silence to give consent; the earls and barons, and all the laity, however, positively refused to grant the tenths, not choosing to bring their baronies and lay property under obligation to the church; but the bishops, abbots and priors, and other prelates, after three or four days' deliberation, and much murmuring, were induced, by the dread of excommunication, or an interdict, in case of refusal, to submit to this heavy imposition. The tenths were consequently exacted with the utmost rigour by the nuncio from all ecclesiastical persons, except those who held lands under Ranulph, Earl of Chester, who boldly withstood the demands of the pope's agent.\*

In the nones of March, 1231-2, the king called a Council, or "*colloquium*," as it is termed by Matthew Paris, at Westminster, of the clergy, great men, &c.—"*Magnates Angliæ, tam Laici quam Prælati*,"—from whom he demanded money to discharge his debts, arising from his recent expedition to the continent. The Earl of Chester, in behalf of the earls confirmed by other annalists. "This year [1226] the king held his Christ-masse at Winchester, and after comming to Marlebridge [Marlborough], chanced there to fall sicke, so that he laie in despaire of life for certeine daies together." Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 359, edit. 1807.

\* Matt. Paris, "Hist. Major," p. 349.

and barons, alleged that they had attended the king in his expedition at their own charge, and therefore could not be required to grant him any aid. The prelates, also, declined making any grant, because ‘many of the bishops and abbots were abroad;’ and therefore another day was fixed for their meeting.\*

A still more important Council, “colloquium,” was held at Westminster on the 9th of October, 1233, about which time the oppressive acts and tyrannical conduct of the king had excited against him a strong confederation of the English barons. ‘Many who were present,’ says the annalist, ‘intreated the king to make peace with Richard, Earl Marshal, and other barons, whom he had driven to rebellion, and who they said ought not to be condemned without being tried by their peers. Peter de Rupibus, [Bishop of Winchester,] the king’s profligate and unpopular minister, in justification of the proceedings adopted against the insurgent barons, asserted, in reply, ‘that there were no peers in England as in the kingdom of France; and therefore the king could have those who offended against the state tried by his justices, who had power to condemn the guilty.’ The bishops, alarmed at this daring contempt of their dearest rights as peers of the realm, immediately excommunicated the king’s iniquitous counsellors, and particularly the Bishop of Winchester, who declared himself exempt from their

\* Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 359.—Stow, “Annals,” p. 274, speaks of the above expedition in these words:—“King Henry sayled into Brytaine, but lost his time to no good, and did nothing but spend great summes of treasure. The earls and barons, also, seeing that Hubert, the justiciar, [who was at that time Henry’s chief favourite and counsellor,] would not suffer them to do any thing against the enemies, they made banquets and feasts as they were wont to do in England, and tended nothing but eating & drinking; but the poorer sorte of men, to maintaine themselves, sold all that they had, and beggared themselves for ever.”

jurisdiction, and appealed to Rome. Then the bishops excommunicated all who should prejudice the king against his natural born subjects, or disturb the peace of the realm.\*

Two other Councils were held "before the king" at Westminster, in the early part of the following year, viz. at the feast of the Purification (February the 2nd), and on the 5th of the ides of April. The first Council was dissolved by the king in consequence of the expostulations of some of the bishops, who, in warning him against evil counsellors, said that 'their measures would prove as ruinous to himself as they had been to his father.'† At the second Council (at which the earls, barons, and prelates are spoken of as being present), the prelates repeated their censures; and after descanting on the desolation and imminent dangers of the realm, they threatened both the king and his ministers with excommunication unless he reformed his errors. Henry, on this occasion, was alarmed; and to allay their anger he humbly promised to be governed by their counsel in all things.‡

At Christmas 1234, the king kept a court at Westminster, in presence of very many of his bishops and principal subjects, — "*præsentibus episcopis et principibus regni quam plurimis*;" — and 'at that time,' says Matthew Paris, 'seven Jews were brought before him who, at Norwich, had stolen a certain boy, and having circumcised him, kept him for a year from the view of Christians, intending to crucify him at the solemnity of the Passover.' They 'were convicted,' continues the annalist, 'of this deed, and, in the presence of the king, confessed the truth of the accusation, and therefore were detained in prison to await his pleasure, in peril of their lives

\* Matt. Paris, "Hist Major," p. 375.

† Ibid. p. 381.

‡ Ibid. p. 383.



and limbs.'\* This event may be cited in illustration of the fact, that our law courts were in former ages frequently held before the monarch in person ; and the phrase of summons '*in banco regis*,' still is 'before the king himself.'

The following characteristic narrative of the circumstances attending the betrothment of Isabella, Henry the Third's sister, to the Emperor Frederic, is given by Matthew Paris : it furnishes an early instance of a royal marriage by proxy.

'In February 1235, two ambassadors from the Emperor Frederic arrived at *Westminster*, to demand in marriage for their master the Princess Isabella, the king's sister. The king summoned a council of the bishops and great men of the kingdom, to consider the proposals of the emperor ; to which, after three days' consultation, an unanimous assent was given. The ambassadors then entreated that they might be permitted to see the princess. The king sent confidential messengers for his sister, to the tower of London, where she was kept in vigilant custody ; and they most respectfully brought the damsel to Westminster, into the presence of her brother. She was in the twenty-first year of her age, exceedingly beautiful, in the flower of youthful virginity, becomingly adorned with royal vestments and accomplishments, and thus she was introduced to the imperial envoys. They, when they

\* Matt. Paris, p. 395. It would seem, however, from Fabian, that the accused (who probably had been induced to confess themselves guilty under some secret promise of being spared), were released without punishment. Vide "*Chronicle*," p. 320, edit. 1811.—In the "*Close Rolls*" of the 19th of Henry the Third, (anno 1234,) is an entry, bearing teste by the king himself at Westminster on the 20th of November, which appears to have some reference to the vague charge against the Jews, viz. 'The Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk is commanded to make proclamation in the city of Norwich, and in all the good towns of those counties, that no Christian woman shall thenceforth serve the Jews in nursing their young children, or in any other office.'

had for a while delighted themselves with beholding the virgin, and judged her to be in all things worthy of the imperial bed, confirmed by oath the emperor's proposal of matrimony, presenting to her, on the part of their master, the wedding-ring. And when they had placed it on her finger, they declared her to be empress of the Roman empire, exclaiming altogether, 'Vivat Imperatrix, vivat!'

'The emperor, being informed of the acceptance of his proposals, sent the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Louvaine, with a noble train, to escort the bride elect to Germany. Previously to the departure of the princess, on the 6th of May, the king held a solemn feast at Westminster, for the Archbishop of Cologne, and the rest of the envoys of the empress; and the next day they all departed, being accompanied to Dartford by the king and a large concourse of earls, barons, and other nobles.'\*

At the commencement of 1236, this Palace became the scene of great festivity, in consequence of the marriage of the King with Eleanor, second daughter of Raymond, Earl of Provence. The nuptials were solemnized at Canterbury on the 14th of January; and on Saturday the 19th, (prior to the Queen's coronation on the next day, in the Abbey Church at Westminster,) their majesties made a public entry into London. Stow says, that to this coronation there "resorted so great a number of all estates, that the citie of London was scarce able to receive them. The citizens rode to meet the King and Queene, being clothed in long garments, embroidered about with golde and silke of dyvers colours; their horses finely trapped in arraie, to the number of 360, everie man bearing golden or silver cups in their hands, and the king's trumpeters before them sounding. The citie was

\* Matt. Paris, "Hist. Major," p. 400.

adorned with silkes, and in the night with lampes, cressets, and other lights without number; besides manie pageants and strange devices which were shewed."\*

The coronation feast was kept in the *Great Hall* of this palace; and it being one of the first, so celebrated, of which any essential particulars have been recorded, we shall here insert a brief account of the various ceremonies, as described by Matthew Paris.

'The king came to Westminster on the 19th of January; and the next day, which was Sunday, there was performed a ceremonial surpassing any thing ever before heard of, in which the king carried the crown, and the inauguration of Queen Eleanor was accomplished. The Archbishop of Canterbury, of special right, performed the office of coronation; the Bishop of London assisting in the ceremony as deacon, and the other bishops taking place according to their rank. In like manner, all the abbots; preceded, as of right, by the abbot of St. Alban's;—for as St. Alban was the first Martyr in England, so the abbot of the monastery of St. Alban's should be the first in order and dignity, as the authentical privileges of that church demonstrate. There, also, were the great men who, from ancient custom, and the old law of the kingdom, ought to be present; together with the citizens of certain cities, who performed offices which of ancient right had been exercised by their predecessors. But why should I tell what was done in the church, reverently ministering unto God?

'At the nuptial feast were assembled such a multitude of the nobility of both sexes, such numbers of the religious, such a vast body of the people, and such a variety of players, — '*histriones*,'—that the city of London could scarcely con-

\* Stow's "Annals," p. 278, edit. 1600; from Matt. Paris.



tain them in her capacious bosom. In the procession, the Earl of Chester bare before the king the sword of St. Edward the Confessor, called *curtana*, in token of his being *Earl of the Palace*,—‘*Comes Palatii*,’—and having authority to restrain the king, if he should do wrong; as constable of Chester, he kept back the people with his rod, when they pressed too forward. The high marshal of England (the Earl of Pembroke) carried a rod before the king, both in the church and in the hall, making way for the king, and arranging the guests at the royal table. The barons, ‘*custodes*’ of the Cinque Ports, bare a canopy over the king, supported on five spears, though from some contentious scruples they had almost neglected their duty. The Earl of Leicester held water for the king to wash before dinner. The Earl of Warenne officiated as the royal cup-bearer, in lieu of the Earl of Arundel, who was a youth not yet knighted. Master Michael Belet had the office of butler. The Earl of Hereford was marshal of the king’s household. William de Beauchamp was almoner. The justiciary of the forests removed the dishes from the king’s table, though he was at first impeded [by some counter claim]. The citizens of London poured the wine abundantly into precious cups; the citizens of Winchester had oversight of the kitchen and napery; and others officiated according to their various claims, which were decided *salvo jure*, so that they might be substantiated on a fitter occasion, and the joy of the nuptial feast not be interrupted by contention. The chancellor, the chamberlain, the marshal, and the constable, took their seats with reference to their offices; and all the barons in the order of their creation. The solemnity was resplendent with the clergy and knights, properly placed. But how shall I describe the dainties of the table, and the abundance of divers liquors; the quantity of game, the variety of fish, the multi-

tude of jesters, and the attention of the waiters? Whatever the world pours forth of pleasure and glory was there especially displayed.\* According to Fabyan, ‘royall solemnities and goodly justys’ were also kept during eight days in Tuthill-field; or as this writer more graphically expresses it, “in the feelde by Westmynster, lying at y<sup>e</sup> west end of y<sup>e</sup> church.”†

Stow, referring to the Tower Records, says that, on the 29th of December in the above year, viz. 1236, “William de Haverhull, the king’s treasurer, was commanded that upon the day of the Circumcision of our Lord (January the 1st), he should cause 6,000 poore people to be fed at London for the state of the king, the queene, and their children. The weake and aged to bee placed in the great Hall, and in the lesser [Hall] those who were more strong, and in reasonable plight; in the king’s chamber the children, and [also] in the queene’s;—and when the king knew the charge he would allow it in the accounts.”‡

One of the most remarkable events attending Henry’s nuptials, was the enactment of the *Statutes*, or “*Provisions of Merton*” as they are styled by historians, in consequence of their having been agreed to at Merton, in Surrey; where the king held a court on the third day after the queen’s coronation. It is stated in the introductory clause of those provisions, that the king’s court was holden before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other his bishops and suffragans, and before the greater part of the earls and barons of England, there being assembled ‘for the coronation of the

\* Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 406. † Fabyan’s “Chronicle,” p. 329.

‡ Survey of London, p. 386. edit. 1598. It may be questioned whether Stow has not been mistaken in assigning the date 1236 to the above-mentioned feast, as there was no issue from the royal marriage until the year 1239. There is a precept extant relative to a similar feast in 1247-48.

said king, and Alianore the queen, about which they were all called.’\*

About the time of the king’s marriage, the rain fell in such vast quantities as to cause a great inundation. ‘At the new moon,’ says Paris, ‘at the festival of St. Scolastica, (February the 10th,) ‘the tide meeting the torrents from the river, their streams swelled so that fords became impassable; the banks were overflowed, the bridges were concealed by the floods, the mills with their dams were injured, and the arable land and the meadows were overwhelmed. Among other singular circumstances, the river Thames, transgressing its accustomed limits, flowed into the great Palace at Westminster, and spreading itself, so covered the area that the middle of the *Hall* might be passed in boats, and persons rode through it on horseback to their chambers. The water bursting into the cellars, could scarcely be drawn out again. Signs, which preceded this tempest, were afterwards considered as prognostics of the mischief. Thunder was heard in the winter, on the festival of St. Damasius, (December the 11th,) and on the Wednesday after the Conception of St. Mary, (December the 8th,) a false sun was seen beside the real sun.’†

\* See “Statutes of the Realm,” vol. i. p. 2, anno 20 Hen III. edit. 1810. The words are—“pro coronatione ip’ius D’ni Regis et Alianore Regine, p’ qua omnes vocati fuerunt.”

† Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 407. The occurrence of great floods, and of strange appearances in the atmosphere, about the same time, are also noticed by Matthew of Westminster, and other annalists. In another flood, which occurred on the eve of St. Edmund’s Day 1242 (November 21st), occasioned by “by a marvellous tempest of thunder and lightening, followed by an exceeding raine,” the river Thames rose so high that “all the countrie was drowned for the space of six miles about Lambeth, and none might get into *Westminster Hall* except they were set on horsebacke.” Vide Holinshed’s “Chronicles,” vol. iii. p. 399; and Matt. Paris, sub eod. anno.



King Henry spent his Christmas at Winchester in the year 1237; and soon after he summoned,—“*per scripta regalia*,”—a Court, or Parliament, of his principal subjects, viz. archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, earls and barons. On the 20th of January following, at a meeting in the Palace at Westminster, the king,—after artfully acknowledging his own previous indiscretions, as well as the illegal practices of his alien ministers,—promised amendment, and requested a subsidy; offering beforehand, to submit to the appointment of Commissioners ‘who should direct the distribution of the money to the proper purposes of the state.’ His insincerity, however, was too well known to admit of a ready acquiescence in his desire. The prelates and barons were indignant at the profligacy with which the best interests of the crown and kingdom had been sacrificed to gratify his foreign favourites; and it was not until he had engaged to renew and faithfully observe the Great Charter and the *Charta de Foresta*, that he obtained a subsidy of a thirtieth of the moveables of the clergy and laity.\* Even this was accompanied by the condition, that, in every county throughout the kingdom, four knights should be chosen to collect and deposit the money within some monastery, that it might be restored to its former owners, should the king break his promise.† But conditions were of little avail with Henry: the money, when raised, was seized by his own command, and squandered away with reckless profligacy on his alien favourites.

\* Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 420.

† In Rymer’s “*Fœdera*,” vol. i. p. 232, edit. 1816, is a writ (tested by the king at Westminster) addressed to the Sheriff of Kent, relative to the levying the above aid. The king’s assessors were to cause four “*de legalioribus hominibus de singulis villis*” to be summoned, who were on oath to declare the true amount of the assessment.

The Chancery Rolls of this reign, preserved in the British Museum, include various items relating to the Palace, of the general tenor of which the following are specimens; they appear among the payments made by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex out of the fee-farm of the city.

In the 13th of Henry III. the citizens render account of 60s. 10d. paid to Walter, the chaplain of St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster: to Adam, of the king's chapel, 30s. 6d.: and to the heir of Richard de Leveland 10l. 12s. 4d. for the custody of the Houses of Westminster. The same payments are repeated in all the following Rolls to the 21st of the same king; with the additions, in his 16th year, of 26s. for the conveyance to Northampton of six casks of wine, which were in the custody of John Colemere in the king's cellar at Westminster; and in his 21st year, of 12l. 0s. 12d. for conveying 241 casks of wine from London to Westminster, and stowing the same in the king's cellar, there.

We shall now advert to the very curious information respecting some of the Palatial decorations, which was first communicated to the public by Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting." It furnishes a demonstrative proof that *oil-painting* was practised in this country nearly two centuries before its presumed discovery by John ab Eyck in 1410.

In the 12th of Henry III. (anno 1228,) the king ordered his treasurer and chamberlains to pay to a certain painter—" *cuidam pictori*"—20s. for painting the *great Exchequer chamber*.\*

In 1236, a mandate was directed to the king's treasurer, requiring him 'to have the king's *great chamber* at Westminster painted of a good green colour, in the manner of a

\* Rot. Claus. 12 Hen. III. m. 8.

curtain, and in the great gable of the same chamber, near the door, to have painted this motto :

*Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne pret ke desire :\**

and also to have the king's *little wardrobe* painted green like a curtain,—so that the king, on his first coming there, may find the above-mentioned chamber and wardrobe painted and ornamented as directed.' †

In the same year, on the 7th of February, another mandate was addressed to H. de Pateshull, the king's treasurer, ordering him "to have the border at the back of the king's seat in the chapel of St. Stephen, at Westminster, and the border at the back of the queen's seat, in another part of the same chapel, painted of a green colour, both within side and without; and also to have painted near the queen's seat a crucifix, with Mary and John, opposite to the king's cross near the king's seat.' ‡

On the 2d of August, 1237, the king, by writ dated at Westminster, commands his treasurer and chamberlains to pay four pounds eleven shillings to Odo, the goldsmith, 'keeper of our works at Westminster, for the making of pictures—" *ad picturas faciendas* "—in our chamber there.' §

In the early part of 1238, as appears from Matthew Paris, (sub eodem anno,) Henry held his court at Westminster;

\* That is, "Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il desire;" which accords with the Latin proverb, *Qui non dat quod habet, non occipit ille quod optat*. We may thus render it in English:—He who gives not what he possesses, receives not what he desires.

† Rot. Claus. 20 Hen. III. m. 12. Dallaway, but surely without warrant from the record, renders the words, "in magno gabulo ejusdem cameræ juxta ostium," by 'the great west window above the entrance.' Vide his edition of Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting," vol. i. p. 6. There were many 'great gables' in ancient houses that were not pierced by windows.

‡ Rot. Claus. 20 Hen. III. m. 12.

§ Rot. Liberat. 21 Hen. III. m. 5.



where, on the 7th of January, he gave his sister Eleanor, the widow of William, Earl of Pembroke, in marriage to Simon de Montfort (a foreigner), whom he had recently taken into his especial favour, and created Earl of Leicester. Walter, the chaplain of St. Stephen's, performed the marriage ceremony in the king's *little chapel*,—"in parvula capella regis, quæ est in angulo cameræ;"—and probably in private, as the king, on being afterwards reproached by his brother Richard for assenting to such a match, defended his conduct by urging 'the necessity of the case, the widow being *enceinte*.'

A very remarkable precept respecting the palatial decorations was issued by King Henry in his 23d year (anno 1239), and, from being directly connected with the history of *colouring in oil*, we shall here insert it, both in the words of the original and in a literal translation:—

"Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Odoni aurifabro, et Edwardo filio suo, centem et septemdecem solidos et decem denarios, *pro oleo, vernici, et coloribus emptis, et picturis factis* in camerâ reginæ nostræ apud West. ab octavis Sanctæ Trinitatis, anno regni nostri xxiii. usque ad festum Sancti Barnabe Apostoli, eodem anno, scilicet per xv dies."\*

'The king, to his treasurer and chamberlains, greeting. Deliver of our treasure to Odo the goldsmith, and Edward his son, one hundred and seventeen shillings and ten pence, for oil, varnish, and colours bought, and for pictures made in the chamber of our queen at Westminster, from the octaves of the Holy Trinity [May the 25th,] in the 23d year of

\* Rot. Claus. 23d Hen. III., as cited by Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting."—"There is another mandate," he adds, "of Henry's 25th year, for two windows with pictures in the hall [query, lesser hall?] and with the motto, *Ke ne dune*, &c. above mentioned, of which I do not know that any of our antiquaries have taken notice." Walpole's "Works," vol. iii. p. 16,

our reign, to the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle [June the 11th] in the same year, namely for fifteen days.'

It seems probable that the pictorial embellishments thus noticed had reference to the preparations then making for the queen's accouchement, as her first son, Edward, surnamed, from the place of his birth, of Westminster, was born on the 16th of June, 1239, five days only after the last date mentioned in the record. "Before the birth of this Edward," says Holinshed (sub eod. anno), "there appeared early in the morning, certeine daies together, before the sunne was up, a star of a large compasse, the which with swift course was carried through a long circuit of the air, sometimes shewing as it had borne fire with it, and sometimes leaving as it were smoke behind it; so that it was after judged, that the great deeds which were to be atchieved by the same Edward, were by this wonderful constellation foreshewed and signified."

By another mandate of the same year, issued after the recovery of the queen, the king orders, 'that the chamber behind the *queen's chapel*, and the private chamber of that chamber, be wainscotted, and the aforesaid chamber lined; and that a list, or border, be made, and well painted with the images of our Lord and angels with incense-pots, scattered over the list or border. He also directs that the four Evangelists be painted within the chamber aforesaid; and that a *crystal vase* be made for the keeping of his relics.' Shortly after, by other precepts, (which also are entered on the Close Rolls,) Hugh de Patteshull, the king's treasurer, was ordered, 'to cause to be made at the upper end of the chapel of St. Stephen, a new, good, and large door;'—and the treasurer and chamberlains of the king's exchequer were commanded 'to provide (among other things) one hundred *wax candles* to be placed in the chapel of St. Stephen on

that saint's day, (December 26th); and one hundred other *wax candles* for the chapel of St. John, on that saint's day,' (December 27th).

In 1241, Henry held his court at Westminster, 'where he banqueted the great men of his kingdom.' Matthew Paris gives the following account of the proceedings under the above date: 'At the request of Otho, the Pope's legate, whom he especially endeavoured to gratify, the king (girded with the military belt) bestowed the honour of knighthood on the nephew of the legate, whose name was Advocatus, at the same time giving him a pension, or rent, [redditus] of £30, which the young man disposed of immediately, knowing that he should shortly return home with his patron. The same day the king also bestowed knighthood on a certain Provençal, and gave him a valuable pension. These solemnities in the church being finished, the king dined in the greater palace [hall] of Westminster. The legate, whom he had invited to dinner, he placed at the higher part of the table, namely in the royal seat, which is in the centre of the table; not however without the envious and angry glances of many being directed towards him. The king himself sat on his right hand, and the Archbishop of York on his left, many of the prelates and other great men being seated according to the order of their rank and dignity.'

Another splendid scene was exhibited here during the continuance of the same festival. 'On the day of St. Edward,' (January the 5th, anno 1241-42,) 'whom the king held in especial honour, he bestowed the honour of knighthood on Peter of Savoy, the queen's uncle. and fifteen other noble youths, in the church of St. Peter, at Westminster; and on the morrow, being the day of Epiphany, in his great palace, he feasted most sumptuously an immeasurable multitude of guests, on account of this Peter, and to signalize the



acquisition of his new dignity. The citizens of London also attended at this festival, being summoned by a royal edict, under a penalty of 100 shillings, to join in the rejoicings.\*

Henry kept his Christmas in the great hall at Westminster in 1241, and shortly afterwards he held a council there, to obtain aid for the expedition which he was then meditating against France. His barons, however, refused compliance, and even upbraided him for his wanton dissipation of the settled revenues of the kingdom, as well as for the sums daily exacted from his subjects by unlawful proceedings. He had the like ill success at another meeting held on the 1st of February 1242; but, as he was determined not to forego his purpose, he contrived to raise a large sum, by way of gift, loan, and other means, and on the 15th of May he sailed for Poitiers—taking with him “thirtie barrells of sterling coine.” After an inglorious campaign, and the loss of two battles, he was compelled to purchase a five year’s truce at the cost of £5,000. He then retired to Bourdeaux, where he remained until September 1243, lavishing away with reckless improvidence all the treasures which he had caused to be wrung from his oppressed people.†

Notwithstanding his pecuniary embarrassments, the king, almost immediately on returning from France, commenced the erection of some new buildings at Westminster, the principal of which was a large chamber, that eventually obtained the name of the *Chamber of the Holy Cross*. This must have been a work of considerable importance, as the following extracts from the Close Rolls of the 28th year of Henry’s reign will prove.

\* Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 531.

† Vide Matthew Paris, and Matthew of Westminster, sub anno 1243. Directly on his return, the king, in order to supply his empty coffers, sought a quarrel with the Jews, who, to appease his seeming wrath, were constrained to submit to a tallage of 50,000 marks.

In that year, a mandate was directed to the sheriff of Kent, requiring him ‘with all possible speed to purchase, and cause to be conveyed to Westminster, 100 *barge loads* of grey stone’—“100 navatas grisie petreæ,”—‘for the works which the king had ordered to be done there; and that he exert such commendable diligence in obeying the said mandate, that W. de Haverhull, his treasurer, and Edward [of Westminster], to whom the king had entrusted the execution of the before-mentioned works, may not throw upon him the blame, if, contrary to the king’s wishes, those works be deferred.’

Again, on the 17th of May, 1244, the king commands the treasurer and chamberlains to pay out of his treasury, to Edward of Westminster, £1,949. 13s. 5½*d.* which he ‘had expended in the erection of a new chamber near to our Hall at Westminster, and of our *Conduit*, and in other works there which we enjoined him to have constructed’

By another, and rather singular, precept of the same year, tested by Henry himself, at Clive, on the 19th of July, the king granted to Edward Fitz-Odo, that ‘from the *aqueduct* which the king had constructed to the Great Hall at Westminster, he might have a *pipe* to his own court at Westminster, of the size of a *goose-quill*.’\*

\* *Edward Fitz-Odo*, who was the director, or master, of the works at Westminster for a very considerable period, was the same person who in other records is called *Edward of Westminster*. He was the son of Odo, the goldsmith, the director of the king’s works in the early part of his reign. On the transfer of the office of *fusor*, or *melter*, of the king’s exchequer, to this Edward, by John *le Fusor*, his uncle, (who had previously held it,) for “twelve marks of silver towards his voyage into the Holy Land,” the king confirmed the agreement by a grant signed with his own hand, at Westminster, on the 22d of January, 1240. Vide Madox’s “Exchequer,” vol. ii. p. 310; and Rymer’s “*Fœdera*,” vol. i. p. 239, edit. 1816. The above grant is noticed both in the “*Rot. Claus.*” and in the “*Fœdera.*”

During the progress of the above work, a most sumptuous feast was given by the king, in the Great Hall, on account of the marriage of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, (his brother,) with Cincia of Provence, who was sister both to Henry's own consort and to the Queen of France. This lady had been brought to England by her mother, the Countess of Provence and Narbonne, "a comely, wise, and civil woman," who was received with great honour by the nobles, and "the citie of London was also gorgeously prepared against her coming." The nuptials were solemnized at Westminster, on St. Clement's day, 1243, (November 23d,) "with great royalty, and companie of noblemen." Matthew Paris, in recording the abundance and magnificence of the entertainment, informs us that more than thirty thousand dishes were prepared for the wedding dinner.

There were two councils, or parliaments, assembled at Westminster in 1244; but Henry was unsuccessful in obtaining money from either, his boundless extravagance and tyrannous exactions having highly displeased both the prelates and the nobles. He contrived, however, by illegal fines, inflicted for alleged offences on the citizens of London, and by fleecing the Jews, to replenish his treasury with large sums. In the following year, June the 7th, the king issued a writ, tested at Westminster, stating 'that it had been resolved by the nobles who had spent the feast of Pentecost with him there, to proceed into Wales against David, the son of Llewellyn, and his adherents.'\*

Nearly at the same time, viz. in the summer of 1245, Henry commenced his memorable re-building of the *Abbey Church* at Westminster, in that elegant and lofty style of architecture which still forms its primary character, and

\* Vide "Reports on the Dignity of a Peer," App. 1. p. 11.



which about that period was adopted in almost all the ecclesiastical buildings throughout Europe. ‘The king,’ says Matthew Paris, ‘moved by his devotional regard for St. Edward, commanded that the church of St. Peter at Westminster should be enlarged:—and the old walls (with the tower) of the eastern part being overthrown, were constructed anew and more handsomely, by artificers whom the king at his own cost procured; the new work being fitted to the residue, or western part.’\*

It appears from a record quoted by Madox from the “Patent Rolls,” that a new exchequer office, with two treasuries, was established by the king, for the receipt of the money which he appropriated to the rebuilding of the abbey church; and that in April 1246, the sum of £2,591, which was due from the widow of a Jew of Oxford, was assigned by him to that use. The document follows:

‘The king gave and granted unto God and the blessed Edward, and to the Church of Westminster, towards the building of that church, £2591, in which sum Licoricia, who was the wife of David, a Jew of Oxford, was bound to him. And the king wills that this money be paid into the new exchequer, that for the above purpose he has constituted at Westminster, and of which he has appointed the Archdeacon of Westminster and Edward of Westminster treasurers. Witnessed by the King at Windsor, April 22d, 1246.’†

\* Matthew Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 642, edit. 1589. Thomas Wykes (a canon of Osney), who was a contemporary historian with Paris, and whose “Chronicle” has been published in Gale’s “Scriptores,” corroborates this statement of the new work having been executed at the king’s cost, though without discriminating the parts rebuilt. He says, ‘The king, with the proceeds of his own exchequer, erected the church from the foundations.’—“Quam idem rex—de propriis fisci regalis exitibus—à fundamentis construxerat.”

† Vide Madox’s “Exchequer,” vol. ii. p. 3, note <sup>k</sup>, from the “Patent Roll”

On the 3d of October, 1247, (the day of the translation of St. Edward,) a gorgeous scene was exhibited here, on the occasion of King Henry presenting to the abbey church a precious vessel which had been sent to him from the Holy Land, and was attested to inclose some of the *genuine blood* of our Saviour, which had trickled from his wounds at the Crucifixion. Several weeks before the ceremony, the king summoned his chief subjects to meet him at Westminster, ‘that they might hear,’ says Matthew Paris, ‘the most joyful news of a holy benefaction recently bestowed on the English from heaven. On the day appointed, the great men assembled, and were informed, in reply to their inquiries, that the king had received from the Masters of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, a beautiful crystalline vase, containing a portion of the blood of our Saviour, which he had *shed on the Cross* for the salvation of mankind; the genuineness of the relic being testified under the seals of the Patriarch [Robert] of Jerusalem, and the archbishop, bishops, abbots, and other prelates of the Holy Land !

‘The king then commanded that all the priests of London, habited in costly dresses, and bearing standards, crosses, and lighted tapers, should early in the morning on St. Edward’s day, reverently meet at St. Paul’s. Thither the king himself came, and with the utmost veneration receiving the vase, with the treasure [of Christ’s blood] already mentioned, he bore it openly before him, (preceded by the richly-dressed priests,) walking slowly, in a humble garb, and without stopping, to the church of Westminster. He held the vase with both hands, keeping his eyes fixed on the vessel, or looking

of the 30th Hen. III. m. 5. The then Archdeacon of Westminster was Richard de Crokesley, who in the same year became Abbot of Westminster, on the recommendation of the king; and for whom also Henry procured from Pope Innocent IV. the right of saying mass fully habited in Episcopal vestments.

up to heaven, whilst proceeding along the dirty and uneven road. But a pall was held over him on four spears, and two persons supported his arms, lest the fatigue should be too great for him.

‘Near the gate of the Bishop of Durham’s hall [in the Strand], he was met by the members of the convent of Westminster, with bishops, abbots, and monks (singing and rejoicing, with tears, in the Holy Spirit), who accompanied the procession to the church, which could scarcely contain the assembled multitude. The king, untired, carried the vase round the palace and the monastery, and then delivered it, as an invaluable present, to the church of St. Peter, and the brethren administering therein to the honour of God.’\*

On the same day, and within the church, the king conferred the honour of knighthood on his half-brother William de Valence, and several other youthful persons.

About the end of the same year, whilst Henry himself kept his Christmas at Winchester, a writ was directed to William de Haverhull, his treasurer, and Edward of Westminster, commanding them, among other things, ‘to fill the king’s *Great Hall* from Christmas day to the day of the Circumcision (January 1st) with poor people, and feed them there.’†

On the 9th of February, 1248, the king being involved in great pecuniary distress, in consequence of his indiscreet prodigality, assembled a parliament at Westminster, “where

\* Vide Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” p. 735, &c. (Wats’s edit.) and “Ad-ditamenta,” p. 161, where our author has given a particular account of what was then said in support of the *genuineness* of the gift. The Bishop of Norwich celebrated mass, and in his subsequent discourse pronounced the grant (by the assembled bishops) of six years and 140 days’ pardon, to all that came to reverence the sacred relic! Matthew Paris was himself present at the ceremony.

† “Rot. Claus.” 32 Hen. III.



all the nobilitie of the realme in manner was present," and from whom he solicited a subsidy, "in reliefe of the great charges which he had in divers waies sustained." This, however, the barons, "who looked," says Holinshed, "for reformation in his dooings," refused to grant; and he was plainly told that "they would not impoverish themselves to enrich strangers, their enemies." Henry promised amendment, and adjourned the meeting until the month of July, when, on the parliament re-assembling, and again refusing a supply, he dissolved it in anger. Shortly afterwards he was constrained, for want of money, to dispose of his plate and jewels at a great loss; and on being informed that the Londoners had purchased them, he exclaimed passionately, that "If Octavian's treasures were to be sold, the city of London would store them up."

In the same year, on the 23d of September, Henry, by a precept tested by himself at Windsor, 'enjoined Master John de St. Omer to cause the *wardrobe* of the king's chamber at Westminster to be painted, in the same manner as the picture begun in that chamber; and to make a new reading-desk, to be placed in the new chapter-house at Westminster, like that which is in the chapter-house of St. Alban, or more seemly and beautiful, if it can be done; and also that he provide the colours, timber, and other necessities for these works, until the returning of the king to London.' For the costs thus incurred, an order for re-payment was afterwards directed to the Abbot of Westminster, Edward Fitz-Odo, and Philip Luvel, the king's treasurer.\*

Henry's animosity to the citizens of London, whom he had ironically reproached with "calling themselves barons, on account of their wealth," was at this time in full activity;

\* "Rot. Claus." 33 Hen. III. m. 3.

and, as a means of reducing their affluence, he devised the expedient of granting an annual fair to the Abbot of Westminster, to be held at St. Edward's tide (October), during fifteen days;—"and to the end that the same should be more haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation that all other fairs, as Elie, and such like, holden in that season, should not be kept, nor that any wares should be shewed within the *citie of London*, either in shop or without; but that such as would sell should come for that time vnto Westminster: which was done, not without great trouble and paines to the citizens, which had not room there but in booths and tents, to their great disquieting and disease for want of necessarie provision, being turmoiled too pitifullie in mire and dirt, through occasion of raine."\* All remonstrances against the injustice of this proceeding were ineffectual, and Henry, instead of attending to their complaints, still further aggrieved the citizens by keeping his Christmas in London, and obliging them to present him with rich new year's gifts. "Besides this," says Stow, "the king tooke victuals and wine where any could be found, and paide nothing for it." Shortly afterwards he constrained the citizens to give him the sum of £2,000 sterling, which, according to Dart, ("Westmonasterium," vol. i.

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 416, from Matt. Paris.—*St. Edward's Fair* was first held in the churchyard at Westminster, but it was afterwards removed to Tothill, or Tuthill, (now Tuthill Fields,) as appears from the following entry on the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, (ann. 34 Hen. III. m. i.) viz. "Translatio Fer' Abb' Westm' a cemiterio Westm', usque apud le Tothull." Many disputes and legal bickerings arose in that and the following reigns, between the Abbots of Westminster and divers merchants and other persons, in consequence of the extensive privileges claimed under Henry's grant of this fair; and even the immediate precincts of the king's palace, in respect to trade, appear to have been subjected to the abbot's authority during its continuance.

p. 26,) he applied towards carrying on the works of the abbey church. At length, however, the murmurs of the people alarmed the rapacious monarch with a short-lived fear, and the following singular instance of his apparent contrition is related by Matthew Paris :

‘ By command of the king, the citizens of London assembled together before him at Westminster, with all their families, even to the boys of twelve years old, on the Sunday before the feast of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas (March 7th 1250), in the greater palace, which is called the Great Hall; and there was such a crowd of people that the whole court was filled with them. Being met together, the king, humbly, as if about to shed tears, entreated each one of the citizens, with heart and voice to disavow all kind of anger, malevolence, and rancour towards him; for he publicly confessed that frequently he himself, but more frequently his servants, had in many ways injured them, taking away their goods and retaining them, and in various respects encroaching on their rights and liberties, wherefore he besought them to pardon him. The citizens, understanding that nothing further was required of them, consented to all that the king requested; although no restitution was made of what had been taken from them.’ \*

That Henry was still proceeding with the decorations of his palace, will appear from the following records.—On the 14th of August, 1250, the king by his mandate, tested at Bridgewater, ordered Edward of Westminster ‘ to cause effigies—“*imagines*” —of the Apostles to be painted around the walls of St. Stephen’s chapel, and on the western side the day of Judgment; and in like manner to have the figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary painted on a tablet or panel; so that the whole may be ready at the king’s coming.’ †

\* Matt. Paris, “ Hist. Major,” p. 748. † “ Rot. Claus.” 34 Hen. III. m. 7.



Ten days afterwards, by a precept tested at Windsor, Odo the goldsmith was commanded, ‘without delay, to put aside the picture which was begun to be painted in the king’s *great chamber* at Westminster, beneath the large historical picture of the said chamber, with the scrolls containing the figures and representations of lions, birds, and other beasts, and to paint it green, after the manner of a curtain, or hanging, so that the effect of the great history may be kept unimpaired.’ \*

In the same year, Godfrey de Liston was ordered ‘to buy six hundred *luces* [or pike], and to let one hundred of them be put into the king’s *ponds* at Westminster, to stock those ponds.’ †

In the year 1251, Edward of Westminster was commanded, ‘that the king’s *jewry*—“judaismum”—at Westminster, ‡ and the king’s great wine-cellar, should be wainscotted; and that the *low* chamber in the king’s garden, and the little tower beyond the chapel there, should be painted, and that in the same chamber a chimney should be made;’ and ‘We will’, says the mandate, ‘that the said chamber be called the *Antioch Chamber*.’ §

\* “Rot. Claus.” 34 Hen. III. m. 7.

† Ibid.

‡ This Judaism, or Jewry, is supposed by Dallaway to have been an exchequer or treasury, erected by Henry for receiving the sums levied on the Jews.

§ “Rot. Claus.” 35 Henry III. m. 10. It seems probable, that the chamber was ordered to be thus named from being painted with representations relating to the siege of Antioch, which city, in the year 1098, had been taken by the Christians in the first crusade. There are several precepts extant, which shew that this subject was frequently chosen by King Henry to adorn his palaces, probably from respect for his heroic uncle, Richard Cœur de Lion. In the Pipe Roll of his 21st year, is a mandate for painting the wainscot of his chamber under his chapel at the palace of Clarendon, in Wiltshire, with the history of Antioch and the single combat of King Richard,—“et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum duello Regis Richardi.” In his 34th year (as entered in the “Close Rolls,” m. 12.) is the king’s order (tested at West-

In February 1252, ("Rot. Claus." 36 Hen. III.) the king ordered Ralph de Dungan, 'keeper of the king's books—"custodi librorum regis"—to supply Master William the king's painter with *colours* for painting the queen's little wardrobe, and for repairing the paintings—"et emendendam picturam"—in the king's great chamber, and in the queen's chamber.'

Master William is again mentioned in a precept tested by Henry at Winchester in June 1256, and thus rendered by Mr. Hardy, in his Introduction to the printed volume of the "Close Rolls."—"The king, in presence of Master William the painter, a monk of Westminster, lately at Winchester, confirmed and gave orders for a certain picture to be made at Westminster, in the *wardrobe* where he was accustomed to wash his face, representing the king who was rescued by his dogs from the seditions which were plotted against that king by his subjects;—respecting which picture the king addressed other letters to you, Edward of Westminster; and the king commands Philip Luvel, his treasurer, and the aforesaid Edward of Westminster, to cause the same Master William to have his costs and charges for painting the aforesaid picture, without delay; and when the king shall know the cost, he will give them a writ of *liberate* therefor.'\*

minster) to R. de Sandford, master of the knights templars, that he deliver to Henry of the Wardrobe, for the queen's use, 'a certain great book, which is in his house at London, written in the French language, in which are contained the Acts of the King of Antioch, and of other Kings—"in quo continentur Gesta Regis Antiochiæ et regum aliorum," &c. This book had been compiled and illuminated by Henry's command; and the use for which it was now wanted appears from a precept on the "Close Rolls" of the following year (m. 11, dated at Winton), which directs that Edward of Westminster 'cause the history of Antioch to be painted in the king's chamber in the Tower of London, as Thomas Espernir shall say to (or direct) him.'

\* There are two other entries on the "Close Rolls" of the 44th of Hen. III.

Notwithstanding the promises of amendment which the king had so recently and publicly made to the citizens of London, he still continued his tyrannical exactions; and he appears to have assumed the Cross, under the hope of even making religion subservient to his views. In 1252, he again invited all the Londoners to his palace at Westminster, where the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, by his command, exhorted the people to engage in the intended crusade. Finding the citizens unwilling to attend to this exhortation, Henry himself reproved them virulently for their backwardness, but with little effect, as three persons only were induced to follow his counsel. Being afterwards refused supplies, in a parliament which he had assembled about the middle of October, he compelled the Londoners to present him with 20,000 marks of gold; and also, says Holinshed, to their "further grief," obliged them to close their shops for fifteen days, and carry their merchandize for sale to 'St. Edward's Fair' at Westminster.\*

which doubtless refer to the above-mentioned Master William, who appears to have been a native of Italy. By the first precept, Edward of Westminster is enjoined that, 'without delay, he shall deliver to brother William (monk of Westminster—" *pictori regis* "—colours, and all other necessary things for restoring the king's paintings at Windsor, accordingly as William the Monk shall instruct the said Edward, on the part of the king.' By the second mandate, the Sheriff of Surrey is required that, 'out of the issues of the said county, he cause the paintings of the king's great hall at Guilford to be repaired, as may be necessary, without delay, &c. and that immediately, the pictures and frontispiece—" *tabulas et fruntellum* "—of the altar of the great chapel there, be made, as we have instructed William of Florence, painter.' William the Florentine, 'our painter,' is again mentioned on the Close Roll of the 52d of Henry III. (anno 1268,) which directs that certain works shall be done within the castle of Guilford, for the use of Eleanor the king's daughter-in-law, and of Eleanor the Queen Consort; and that the Sheriff of Surrey shall pay to the said William 'sixpence per day,' for his wages as Master of the Works at Guilford.

\* It has been supposed, and with much appearance of probability, that the



In the spring of 1253, another parliament was held at Westminster, in which the king, by acknowledging his former irregularities, and promising to observe faithfully the charters of King John, prevailed on the clergy to grant him a tenth of their revenues for three years, and on the barons, three marks for every knight's fee held immediately of the crown. On this occasion the king had offered to submit to excommunication if he should fail to observe his engagements; and he therefore, early in May, convened in the *Great Hall* of Westminster, an assembly of all his magnates, both spiritual and temporal, in order to have the sentence of anathematization solemnly pronounced.

There was something appalling in the nature of this ceremony; and the understanding revolts equally against the craft that engendered it, and the debasing superstition by which it was maintained. In the present instance, all the prelates (if not the barons likewise), bore lighted tapers in their hands, but the king excused himself from holding any, saying that 'he was no priest;' yet to prove the sincerity of his concurrence, he 'would keep his hand upon his breast during the proceedings.' The anathema was pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the curse of heaven was

determined support which the king gave to this fair, was for the purpose of enabling the Abbot of Westminster the better to carry on the rebuilding of the abbey church, with the proceeds of the duties which were levied on the goods exposed for sale. In 1254, however, according to a document cited by Widmore, ("Rot. Vascon." 38 Henry III. m. 4.) he gave a more decided proof of his desire to forward the work, by commanding his treasurer and the barons of the exchequer to apply 3,000 marks yearly towards that end. Henry, notwithstanding his multiplied extortions, was frequently in want of money, and Matthew Paris, under the years 1250 and 1251, condemns him for not keeping up that kingly hospitality which had been customary at the palace. He likewise censures the king, queen, prince Edward, and the courtiers for taking, or rather exacting, rich presents. Vide "Hist. Major," pp. 752 and 780.

invoked against those persons who, in future, should in any respect violate the two charters, (namely Magna Charta and the Charta de Foresta,) which were now confirmed by the king. The tapers were then extinguished, and thrown stinking and smoking upon the ground, and the dire malediction uttered, that the souls of every one who infringed the charters ‘might thus be extinguished, and stink, and smoke in hell.’ At the conclusion of the ceremony, the king voluntarily added, “So may God help me, I will inviolably observe all these things, as I am a man and a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king!”\*—Henry was probably sincere at the moment, yet this solemn protestation had but little influence over his subsequent conduct.

In January 1254, whilst the king was prosecuting the war in Guienne, a parliament was summoned at Westminster by the queen’s authority; but, though twice assembled, the barons steadily refused to grant the aid required, and the meeting was dissolved. A similar refusal was given to Henry himself at another parliament, which met in the palace at the feast of St. Edward in 1255, and at which ‘almost all the great men of the kingdom were present.’ On this occasion the king is recorded to have ‘prolonged the time of the session, day after day, for the space of a month;’ yet all his endeavours to prevail on the assembly to accede to his wishes were ineffectual.† Resort was then had to the old system of illegal exactions, and both the Jews and the citizens of London were grievously oppressed, to gratify the rapacious wants of the sovereign. Eight thousand marks

\* Matt. Paris. “Hist. Major,” p. 839. It might have been believed, that an oath thus solemnly pronounced would have been religiously kept; yet such was the influence of Henry’s abandoned favourites, that they very soon prevailed on him to get his oath annulled by the authority of the supreme pontiff: after which, he immediately reverted to his former habits.

† Matt. Paris, “Hist. Major,” pp. 884, 5.

were extorted from the Jews, under pain of hanging if not speedily paid ;—"and when," says Holinshed, "the king had *fleeced them to the quick*, he set them to farm unto his brother, Earl Richard, that he might peel off *skin and all!*"

It was probably to give a colour of retributive justice to these transactions, that the Jews of Lincoln were now accused of crucifying a youth of eight years of age, "from despite of Christ's religion." On that charge, on the 22d of November, in the above year, one hundred and two individuals of this persecuted nation were brought up from Lincoln, and examined in the king's court at Westminster, and thence committed to the Tower. Eighteen of them were afterwards executed for the alleged murder, which is said to have been confessed (upon *promise of pardon*) by the Jew who was owner of the house wherein the boy was crucified: the others were released, after being kept several months in prison.\*

In the year 1256, says Stow, "King Henry sat in the *exchequer* of this Hall [Westminster], and there set down order for the appearance of the sheriffs, and bringing-in of their accounts; and there were five marks set on every sheriff's head for a fine, because they had not distrained every person that might spend £15 land by the year, to receive the order of knighthood, according as the same sheriffs were commanded. Also, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, being accused of oppression and wrongs done by them, and submitting themselves in this place, before

\* In Rymer's "*Fœdera*," (vol. i. p. 335, edit. 1816,) are two documents from the Tower archives relating to this transaction. They are both tested by the king, and addressed 'Petro le Blund,' Constable of the Tower, commanding him to set at liberty (by the first) one John, a converted Jew, who had been accused of participating in the murder;—and (by the second) a Jew of London named Benedict fil. Mossei, who had been tried at Westminster for the same crime, but acquitted on the evidence of the mother of Hugh, the murdered boy.



the King sitting here in judgment upon the matter, they were condemned to pay their fines for their offences committed; and further, every one of them [was] discharged of assize and ward.”\*—At the end of August, in the same year, Alexander III., king of Scotland, and Margaret his consort, (Henry’s sister,) became for a short time the king’s guests in this palace.

King Henry kept his Christmas at Westminster in the year 1257, and at the Mid-lent following held a parliament there, which he soon afterwards angrily dissolved, in consequence of its refusal to sanction an unjust levy on the revenues of the clergy.

The numerous aggressions and acts of despotism which the king had committed, excited general indignation, and a powerful confederacy against him was formed by the barons, who, at another great Council which met in Westminster Hall, on the 2d of May 1258, assembled in complete armour. On the entrance of the king they put aside their swords, but Henry, alarmed at the unusual appearance, exclaimed, “Am I then a prisoner?” “Not so,” replied Roger Bigod (the Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal); “but as you, Sir, by your partiality to foreigners, and your own prodigality, have involved the realm in misery, we demand that the authority of the state be delegated to commissioners, who shall have power to correct abuses, and enact salutary laws.” A stormy altercation ensued, but Henry found it necessary to submit, and after certain arrangements had been made the meeting was adjourned to Oxford. On the appointed day, June the 11th, the parliament assembled in that city, when the entire government of the kingdom was vested in a Council of twenty-four barons and prelates, who, assisted by

\* Strype’s Stow’s “London,” vol. ii. edit. 1755.

twelve *Representatives* of the people, or commonalty, were entrusted with the concerns of the intended reformation. To that meeting, though branded by subservient annalists with the opprobrious appellation of the "*Mad Parliament*," the authority of the House of Commons, as an integral part of the Legislature, is greatly indebted.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, (who had married the king's sister,) was a principal leader of the associated barons, and the fear and apprehension which his resolute demeanour had excited in the mind of the fickle sovereign, was signally illustrated by an occurrence that took place within a short time after the breaking up of the above parliament; and the particulars of which have been thus circumstantially related by Matthew Paris.

In July 1258, the king leaving his palace to dine, took a boat at Westminster, but when on the Thames the sky grew dark, and such a storm of thunder and lightning and rain came on, that the affrighted monarch, who at all times was alarmed at tempestuous weather, ordered his attendants to put him ashore. The skiff was near the noble palace of the Bishop of Durham, where the Earl of Leicester then resided; and the earl, on perceiving the king approach, gladly hastened to meet him. Saluting him most respectfully, and consoling him under his alarm in a becoming manner, he said, 'Why should you be afraid, since the tempest is over?' To which the king replied, not lightly, but seriously, and with a severe countenance, 'Above measure, I dread thunder and lightning; but, by the head of God! I am in more terror of thee than of all the thunder and lightning in the world.'\*

On the 11th of May, 1259, the king by his precept commanded Master John of Gloucester, his plasterer, and the

\* Matt. Paris, "*Hist. Major*," p. 944.

masters of his works at Westminster, 'to make five statues of kings carved in freestone, and a pedestal for the image of the Blessed Virgin, and to deliver them, as the king's gift, to the masters of the works of the church of St. Martin, in London.'\* In the same year, on the 13th of October, Henry held a court at Westminster at which regulations were made for the due government of the kingdom, in pursuance of the provisions of the Council of Oxford.† Several deeds bearing teste by the king at Westminster, and dated about this time, have been printed in the "Fœdera."

After the inglorious treaty (in the above year), by which Henry irrevocably ceded to Louis the Ninth, King of France, the countries of Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine, a new *Great Seal* was made, from the legend of which (enumerating the king's titles) all mention of Normandy and Anjou was omitted. Its first keeper was Henry de Wingham, Bishop of London, who, as recorded in the Patent Rolls, resigned it to the king, in the royal chamber at Westminster, on St. Luke's day (October the 8th) 1260; and the king 'forthwith delivered his new seal to Nicholas de Ely, Archdeacon of Ely, as keeper, who thereupon took the oath of office,' &c. The old seal was then broken by the king's command, and the fragments given to be distributed to certain poor people belonging to religious houses, as a benefaction from himself.‡ Rishanger, the continuator of Matthew Paris, states that the King of France paid to

\* "Rot. Claus." 43d Hen. III. m. 10.—By a former precept, issued in his 39th year, Henry had granted to the same John of Gloucester, his plasterer, that 'for the whole term of his life he should be free from all tallage and tolls every where throughout the Realm.' "Rot. Claus."

† "Ann. Mon. Burton," inter Rer. Angl. Scrip. Vet. tome i. p. 427 : Oxon. 1684.

‡ "Cal. Rot. Patent." p. 31.



King Henry three hundred thousand pounds *Tournois* for the above cession;\* but it appears from a variety of documents printed in the “*Fœdera*,” that, after much negotiation, Henry agreed to take one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds *Tournois* for his claim, and on the 14th of May, 1264, he gave a full acquittance for that sum to the French king.

In the latter part of the year 1260, (as appears from Matthew of Westminster,) the king was again visited by Alexander King of Scots, and his consort Margaret; and at a royal feast at Westminster, he conferred the honour of knighthood on fourscore persons.

From a memorandum in the archives of the abbey church, which has been cited by Widmore, (and described by him as being in the handwriting of the time,) it appears that the total sum expended on the *works* at Westminster, from their commencement until the Sunday next after Michaelmas, in the 45th of Henry the Third (anno 1261) was £29,345. 19s. 8d.; and that £260 remained due ‘for the wages of the freestone carvers, &c. and for the freestone and other purchases.’† Whether this sum included the expenses incurred on the buildings of the Palace, as well as on those of the abbey church, we have no present means of ascertaining.

Holinshed, under the date 1263, says, “The same year the king’s *little hall* at Westminster, with manie other houses thereunto adioining, was consumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kinges servants.” The same event is thus noticed in the “*Chronicle of London*,” edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, from the Harleian MS. before cited: “This yere, after the purification of oure Lady, [February the 2d,] the

\* M. Paris, “*Hist. Major*,” 957.

† Widmore’s “*Hist. of St. Peter’s Church, Westminster*,” Appendix, p. 182.

kinges litell halle at Westm', with the chaumbre, were brent."

From a Latin document given in the "*Fœdera*," it would seem that on this occasion Henry de Sandwich, Bishop elect of London, was written to by the king for a supply of timber to re-instate the destroyed buildings. His reply to the king, which is dated from Longstow, on the 11th of the kalends of March in the above year, is curious. After the customary address, the bishop proceeds thus: 'This is to let your Highness know, that having heard of the burning of your houses at Westminster we were much grieved, fearing that when it should be made known to you, your mind would be disturbed, and your bodily health (which God amend and preserve) would be injured.

'As to the timber concerning which your lordship has written to us, know that, as we are informed by many persons worthy of credit, that to say nothing of our parks and preserves, the keepers of the bishopric of London, during the last vacancy, have so destroyed our woods, that towards the repair of our own houses, if it were requisite, we believe that there would be found little, if any, supply. Wherefore, until we shall have ascertained by our steward or bailiff, whether your said keepers have left us any thing with which we may assist you, we dare not promise any thing to your serenity. May the Lord strengthen and preserve your safety for a long time.'"\*

During the popular commotions about this period, arising from the king's perfidious violation of the statutes of Oxford, considerable damage was done to his brother's property in this vicinity, as appears from Wykes's "*Chronicle*"; but we have no means of specifying the immediate scene of the

\* "*Fœdera*," vol. i. pt. i. p. 424, edit. 1816.

devastation. ‘In the beginning of Lent 1263,’ says the annalist, ‘there assembled a furious mob of Londoners, who, after ravaging the manor of Islewych (Isleworth), belonging to the King of the Romans, destroyed a fishpond, or lake, which he had made at a great expense; and, not content with this mischief, they proceeded to the mansion of the king, in the suburbs of London, near Westminster, which they nearly pulled down, scarcely leaving one stone upon another, and taking away all the posts, tiles, and stones that were of any use for the building. They also in their rage devastated the manors of all who adhered to the king, or served him in any capacity, attacking especially the lands of William de Valentia (his half-brother), whom, without reason, they accounted an alien.’\*

After the decisive battle between the forces of the barons, under Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and those of the king himself, at Lewes, in Sussex, on the 14th of May, 1264, a treaty, called the *Mise* of Lewes, was signed on the field, and it was agreed that the final agreement should be referred to the decision of a Parliament to be assembled at London in the month following. The Parliament met accordingly, about the 24th of June, and besides the barons and prelates, it “consisted, apparently, of knights elected for several shires, as well as of persons summoned by special Writs, but not of Representatives of cities or boroughs.†”

On the 20th of January, 1265 (49th of Henry III.), another Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*,‡ in obedience to

\* “Chron. Thomæ Wykes,” inter Hist. Angl. Script. quinque, tom. ii. p. 59.

† Vide “Reports on the Dignity of a Peer,” vol. i. p. 138. In that Parliament it appears “that four Knights, as representatives of each of certain counties, were required to attend, not by writs to the sheriffs, but by writs to the keepers of the peace in those counties;” yet there is no *direct* proof that such knights were really present. Ibid, p. 154.

‡ Vide “De Antiquis Legibus,” a book in the office of the Town Clerk of



Writs issued in the preceding month. This meeting took place under the immediate influence of the Earl of Leicester, who then held the king in restraint, and it appears that the prelates and barons who were summoned on that occasion, were all, or nearly all, his acknowledged partizans. But, independently of the magnates of the land, we have clear evidence that to this Parliament, knights were summoned as representatives of counties, and citizens and burgesses for cities and boroughs, as well as of four members for each of the cinque ports. For the cities and boroughs two members only were in general summoned, but the city of London was represented by *four* citizens; most probably in return for the strenuous support which they had given to the barons. This assembly, therefore, may be regarded as the *first* Parliament in which the legislative body began to assume its present form, as distinctly connected with a representation of the people.

On the 14th of March 1265, the king, who was still held under control by the Earl of Leicester, assigned ‘the houses which were those of Edward of Westminster [Prince Edward], at Westminster,’ to Peter de Montfort, the earl’s son, for his own residence.\* After the victory at Evesham, however, on the 4th of August in the same year, when the Earl of Leicester was slain and the king freed from captivity, the above grant, and all others which he had made whilst under duurance, were declared null and void.

It is not probable that much work was executed at the Palace during the contentions with the barons, yet in the Close Rolls of this year (49th of Henry III.) there is a man-

London. The Parliament assembled in the Great Hall at Westminster, and Prince Edward, and Henry son of the King of the Romans (who had become hostages at the *Mise* of Lewis), were declared free before all the people, “*co-ram omni populo in Magna Aula Westm’.*”—Vide “Report on the Dignity of a Peer,” vol. i. p. 464.

\* “*Fœdera*,” vol. i. p. 453.

date directed to the treasurer, requiring him to pay 'to the painters of the king's chamber seven pounds and ten shillings, for the pictures made in the said chamber, in the chapel behind his bed.' There is also another precept, tested by the king at Westminster on the 7th of January, in his 51st year (anno 1267), commanding the bailiffs of the city of London 'to pay, out of the fee-farm of the said city, to Master Walter, our painter, the sum of twenty marks, for pictures made in our chamber at Westminster; and that you by no means omit to do it, and it shall be accounted with you in the Exchequer.'

About this time the domestic troubles in the kingdom were renewed, and the Tower of London, which had been placed under the authority of Ottoboni, the pope's legate, was besieged by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was then the chief leader of the associated barons. The obligations which the king had conferred on the Abbey at Westminster, were in some degree returned on this occasion, by the loan of 'gold, precious stones, jewels, and other valuables,' which had been deposited in the 'chest or shrine of the blessed Edward,' and which Henry sold or pledged to certain merchants for large sums of money, in order to raise soldiers in France and Scotland.\*

About three weeks after Easter, according to Holinshed, the insurgent soldiers, "which laie in London and in Southwark, did much hurt about in the county of Southerie [Surrey], and elsewhere. They also spoyled the towne of

\* The king's acknowledgment of and obligation to return the loan, is entered on the Patent Rolls, and has been printed in the "*Fœdera*," vol. i. part i. p. 472. After quietness had been restored, and the pecuniary affairs of the king become more flourishing, he redeemed the rich jewels which had been pledged, and returned them to the church; making other compensation for what had been sold.

Westminster, and the parish church there; but the monkes and the goodes belonging to the abbey they touched not, but they made havocke in the king's Palace, drynking up and destroying his wine, they brake the glasse windows, and defaced the buildings most disorderly, uneth [scarcely] forbearing to set the house on fire."\*

This statement is corroborated by Wykes, who says, that 'the insurgents under the Earl of Gloucester, without consideration attacked the king's Palace at Westminster, which disdained comparison with those in divers countries,—“quod diversis in regnis comparationem recipere dedignatur,”—and breaking with clubs and levers the doors and windows, carried them into Southwark, where they constructed a kind of barrier for their defence against assault.'†

On the 13th of October 1269, the new abbey church at Westminster, of which the eastern part, with the choir, to some distance beyond the transept, had now been completed, was first opened for divine service. On this occasion the remains of King Edward the Confessor were removed, with great solemnity, “into ye chapell at ye backe of the hygh aulter, and there layde in a ryche shrine,”‡ which the king had caused to be made for its reception.§ The vast pomp with which this ceremony was performed, may be appreciated

\* Holinshed's "Chronicle," p. 778: edit. 1577; from Matthew of Westminster.

† Wykes's "Chronicle," sub anno 1267.

‡ Fabyan's "Chronicle," p. 366.

§ This shrine, as appears from Matthew Paris ("Hist. Major," p. 553), had been prepared in 1241. The king, says the annalist, 'in this year employed chosen goldsmiths of London to construct a Shrine of the purest gold, adorned with precious stones, in which the reliques of the blessed Edward might repose; and the work was most skilfully executed at his sole cost. Though the materials were highly valuable, the workmanship far excelled them, according to the poetical phrase, "*materiem superabat opus.*"



from a passage in Wykes's "Chronicle," which, speaking of Henry the Third, proceeds thus: 'This prince being grieved that the reliques of St. Edward were so poorly enshrined, and not elevated, resolved that so great a luminary should be placed on high as a candlestick to enlighten the church. He therefore, on the third of the ides of October, the day of St. Edward's first translation, summoned the nobility, magistrates, and burgesses of the realm, to Westminster, to attend this solemn affair. At that time, the chest being taken out of the old shrine, the king and his brother, the King of the Romans, carried it upon their shoulders, in view of the whole church; his son Edward (afterwards king), Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the Earl Warenne, and the Lord Philip Basset, with as many other nobles as could come near to touch it, supporting it with their hands to the new shrine; which was of gold, adorned with precious stones, and placed in an exalted situation.' According to Matthew of Westminster, the king, with many of his nobles, clothed in white garments, had passed the preceding night in the abbey church, watching and praying, and performing acts of charity. After the ceremony of the translation was over, the king magnificently feasted a great multitude of the assembled company, of all ranks, in his Palace. It is also stated, that he was accustomed for many years to have the two Halls at Westminster filled with poor people, and fed on the day of St. Edward's translation.

In the year 1269, this Palace became the scene of a very singular occurrence, the particulars of which have been thus related by contemporary annalists. A violent quarrel had taken place between John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and Sir Alan la Zouche, one of the king's justices, respecting a certain manor. These parties appeared before the judges in *Westminster Hall*, on the Tuesday after St. John the Baptist's

day, when a personal altercation arose, which was carried on with such indecent violence, that from abusive language they proceeded to blows; and at length the domestics of the Earl, (who, unknown to his antagonist, were furnished with arms,) drew their swords, and, in defiance of the respect or reverence due to the king and queen, (who were then residing in the palace,) as well as of the judges before whom the cause was pending, even in their very presence, and in the presence of the officers of the Chancery, (who were also in the Hall,) made a fierce attack on Alan la Zouche, who fearing they would kill him, fled towards the king's chamber; but the assailants boldly followed him, and having inflicted on him dangerous wounds, left him half dead; then making their escape from the Palace to the river Thames, they crossed it in a boat, to seek a place of concealment. The king and prince Edward, hearing the lamentations of the wounded knight, were highly displeased, and resolved not to leave such an open act of violence unpunished. Orders were immediately issued that the earl should come into court, to submit himself to the laws and to the justice of the king. But that nobleman, apprehending that he should be committed to prison, refused to obey the royal mandate. Upon this, Prince Edward, with the Archbishop of York, and other nobles, attended by a band of soldiers, went after the earl, who had taken refuge in his castle at Reigate; where, through the mediation of the Earl of Gloucester, and of Henry, son of the King of Almaine, the culprit nobleman was induced to surrender himself; and on the Sunday after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul he was brought to court, that he might submit to the law and custom of the realm, and receive the award of justice. It appears that Roger la Zouche, as well as his father Alan, had been wounded by the retainers of the earl, who was sentenced to place himself at the mercy of the king

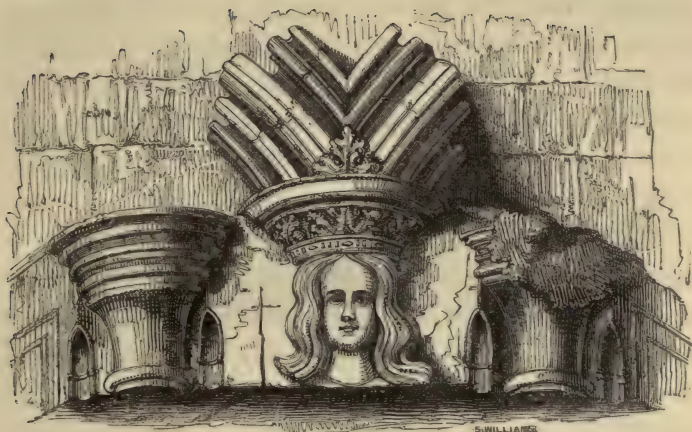
for a fine of 5,000 marks; that, for the injury done to the knight and his son, he should give them 2,000 marks; and that the earl himself, accompanied by fifty knights, should proceed on foot from the New Temple at London to Westminster, where they should all make oath that the assault was not committed with premeditated malice, but through a storm of anger suddenly excited. The unfortunate Alan la Zouche was attacked with fever in consequence of the wounds which he had received, and hot weather supervening, his illness increased, and terminated in his death.\*

Soon after this event, Prince Edward, who, under the persuasions of Ottoboni, the legate, had assumed the Cross, at Northampton, in the preceding year, departed for the Holy Land;—and he was still absent from England, when the king his father became seriously ill, and at length died, on the 16th of November 1272. Four days afterwards, the King was interred, with as much solemnity as the time would permit, in St. Edward's chapel, in the newly-built church at Westminster, where a splendid tomb, adorned with mosaic-work, was erected to his memory by his successor.

Walpole concludes a somewhat laboured eulogium on this sovereign,—in which his love of splendour and the arts is urged by way of counterbalance to his oppressive exactions and profuse expenditure,—by the enquiry, “who will own that he had not rather employ Master William and Edward of Westminster to paint the *gestes* of the Kings of Antioch, than imitate the son in his barbarities in Wales, and usurpations in Scotland?”

\* Thom. Wykes's “Chron.” inter Hist. Angl. Script. quinque, *Oxon.* p. 91, 2; and Matt. Westmonast. “Flores Historiar.” *Francof.* 1601, p. 399. From the “Patent Roll” it appears also that a safe conduct was granted to the earl, to appear at the king's court at Westminster, July 2, 54 Hen. III. (1270).





*Wm. Capon del.*

EDWARD THE FIRST.

*S. Williams sc.*

## CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER, FROM THE  
ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE FIRST UNTIL THE DEATH OF ED-  
WARD THE THIRD.

ON the day after the decease of Henry the Third (namely on November the 17th, 1272) his eldest son Edward was proclaimed King in the greater *Hall* at Westminster, as appears from a letter addressed to him by the magnates of the realm, announcing his father's decease and burial.\* His regual year, however, did not commence until after his father's interment on the 20th of that month, when, according to Matthew of Westminster, the barons went to the high altar in the Abbey Church, and swore fealty to him; after which he was proclaimed in the New Temple, where the Lords had assembled.

\* " *Fœdera*," vol. i. part i. p. 497.

A convention of the Clergy and Laity, after the festival of St. Hilary, in 1273, is stated to have taken place at Westminster in consequence of the death of Henry the Third. It appears that this assembly was constituted in the same manner with that summoned in 1265, under the authority of the Earl of Leicester and his partizans; for among those who were present on this occasion, besides the spiritual and temporal nobility, there were “de quolibet Comitatu quatuor milites, et de qualibet civitate quatuor.” All present took the oath of fealty to Edward I. Walter de Merton was appointed Chancellor, and ordered to *remain* at Westminster, as the place for public business—“tanquam in loco publico,”—till the coming of the King, who was then abroad. It was also provided that there should be no Justices Itinerant in the King’s absence, but only in the Bench. Two Nuncios from the Pope came to London during the sitting of this Parliament.\*

Before the King’s arrival in England, orders had been given to prepare for his coronation at Westminster, and in February 1274, divers warrants were issued by Walter de Merton, the Chancellor, requiring the Sheriffs of different counties to furnish provisions for the consequent feast.†

\* “*Annales Ecclesiæ Wigorn.*” in *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 499. That Westminster was the principal seat of justice for the whole kingdom in the reign of Edward I. appears, not only from the above account of the Parliament in 1273, but also from the following passage in the same annals: “Anno 1280. In crastino Epiphaniæ, recedente Rege à Castro Wintoniæ versus Novam Forestam, reversus est Cancellarius ejus Londoniam, ut *apud Westmonasterium, quasi in loco certo*, omnes indigentes et Brevia petentes, et jura sua prosequentes, remedium invenirent ibidem.” Ibid. p. 504.

† Vide “*Fœdera*,” vol. I. part ii. p. 509. The magnificent scale on which the banquet was to be given, may be appreciated by the quantity of provisions that was ordered to be supplied, and which included 440 oxen and cows, 430 sheep, 450 pigs, 16 fat boars, 278 fitches of bacon, and 22,460 capons and other poultry. Ibid.

Some affairs of national importance, however, detaining him on the Continent, the intended celebration was deferred until August, a short time prior to which, as appears from an entry on the Patent Rolls, William of Windsor and Joceres of London, the King's purveyors, were sent through the several counties of England to collect provisions for the feast, and all persons were enjoined to aid and assist them.

Edward landed at Dover with Eleanor his Queen, on the 2nd of August, and their passage through London to the Palace at Westminster was attended by great rejoicings. The exterior of the houses were hung with the richest silks and tapestry, the conduits flowed with the choicest wines, and gold and silver were profusely scattered among the populace by the more affluent citizens.

On the 19th of August, Edward and his royal consort were crowned in the Abbey Church at Westminster, Alexander, King of Scotland, and all the principal nobility of both countries, being present at the ceremony. The procession to the banquet in the great Hall was unusually splendid. Knighton says, 'The King of Scotland was accompanied by one hundred knights on horseback, who as soon as they had dismounted, turned their steeds loose for any one to catch and keep that thought proper. Then came Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the King's nephew, and the Earls of Gloucester, Pembroke, and Warrene, each having in their company a hundred illustrious knights, wearing their lords' armour; and when they had alighted from their palfreys, they also set them free, that whoever chose might take them unquestioned. And the aqueduct in Chepe [Cheapside] poured forth white wine and red like rain water, for those who would to drink at pleasure.'\*

\* Henry de Knyghton "De Eventibus Angliæ," inter Decem Scriptores, col. 2461.



The first Parliament after Edward's Coronation was held at Westminster on the 19th of May 1275; and among the returns entered on the "Hundred Rolls" of the same year, in answer to one of the questions contained in the Commission by which the Inquisitions were taken, namely, 'What manors hath the King in demesne?' the Jury are stated to reply that, 'in the county of Middlesex, the King hath (*inter alia*) the Palace of Westminster, which was of the ancient demesne of the crown.'\*

From the following translated abstracts from the Wardrobe Accounts entered on the Chancellor's Roll of the 5th year of King Edward, it is obvious that some considerable works must have been in progress at the Palace in the early part of his reign. They are also curious from including the charges for a variety of articles that were then used. It is observable that, in these records, the earlier accounts are the first which are entered; and the probability is that they were condensed from the more minute specifications of other documents.

'The account of Giles de Audenard, Keeper of the Tower of London, for the Works at the Tower of London, at Westminster, and at the King's Mews, from the Sunday next before Christmas in the 5th year of King Edward the First until Easter in the 6th year of the same King.'

'For timber, boards, and planks for a new "pomellū," † [*pomellum*, ball, or globe] upon the Great Hall of West-

\* "Rotuli Hundredorum," p. 403.

† *Pomellus*, globulus; Gallicé *pomme*; de eo dicitur quod formam rotundam et sphæricam, ut pomum habet. Pomelli etiam dicuntur globuli; Gall. *boutons*, quibus in vestimentis utuntur, *Du Cange*. The term appears to denote globular ornaments of any kind. It is applied to ornaments of a royal crown,

minster, and to amend divers of the King's Courts there, shingles to cover the said houses, and carriage thereof from Kingston by water to Westminster, nails for the said 'pomellū' and for other things in the said Court, for white-washing the said 'pomellū,' for covering with lead the two new 'pomell' [pomellos] of the two great kitchens, for six new wooden 'pomell,' bought for the King's seat in the little Hall, three hundred and one quarter of Reygate stone for the works there, 906 sacks of lime for the same, seven loads ('carratis') of lead for the old and new gutters of the King's houses there, firewood to melt the said lead, plaster of Paris, bolts, or fastenings ('serruris') for the doors and windows of the said houses, for tiles, &c. and straw '*ad eandem domus interclausur*' near the King's bed, iron-work for divers windows in the King's chamber, for painting one '*lista*' [border, or margin] in the great Hall, and colours for the same, grafts or cuttings bought for the King's garden, and other minute expenses about the King's houses there, with the wages of masons, carpenters, plumbers, blacksmiths and other workmen employed in the said repairs from St. Innocent's day in the 6th year until the Wednesday before the feast of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian in the same year,

£64 9 2½

'For timber, whereof to make the King's Mews, and carriage of the same from Kingston to the said Mews, as well by land as by water, divers keys for the same, and for repairing

in the will of James King of Arragon, 1262. Spicileg. D'Acherii, tom. ix. p. 198; to balls placed instead of feet to support silver cups, in the statutes of the Cistercians 1203, apud Marten. Anecd. tom. iv. col. 1299: and to ornaments of buildings, "Cuidam plumbario qui plumbavit Pomellos ex parte muris, xx. sol."—Comput. ann. 1261, ex Bibl. Reg. "Fœdera," t. v. p. 48 and 59.

"Gloss. ad Script. Med. et Infim. Latin." Auct. C. Dufresne, D. Du Cange. Edit. Nov. a Benedict. e Congr. S. Mauri, t. v. Paris. 1734. col. 632.

the keys of the gerfalcons' bath, for iron rings for the curtain of the Mews before the said falcons, and for turfs bought for the herbary of the said falcons, £ 25 0 2

‘The account of the said Giles for the King’s Works at Westminster and the King’s Mews there, from Monday on the morrow of All Saints, in the 4th year of the same King, until the Sunday next after the feast of the Translation of St. Andrew in his 5th year.

‘For gross timber, as well oaks as elder, planks and shingles for a new chamber for the Queen’s use, for the chamber of master Francis, and for a new house for timber and brushwood, near the chamber of the said master Francis, a new butlery for the Queen’s use, a new kitchen for William de Montrevel, and for the repair of other the King’s houses there, and for the carriage of the aforesaid timber,

£ 25 2 7

‘For deal boards bought for the doors and windows of the aforesaid houses, and for certain offices there, and for tables, stands, and other things in the Queen’s butlery and kitchen, and for the making thereof, £ 14 13 4

‘For sockets (*‘forceriis’*) to hold waxen torches, for two other sockets, for coffers to contain the rolls and tallies of the Exchequer, for iron bought for the use of the King and Queen, and carriage thereof, and for divers keys for the aforesaid houses, and other iron-work for the offices there,

£ 16 5 6

‘For lead, bought to cover the Queen’s *Oriel*, and to amend the gutters, tin bought to mix with the said lead to cover the said *Oriel*, and for the amendment of other places there, with firewood to melt the same, and for plaster of Paris, £ 32 2 0

‘For four ship-loads of hard stone of ‘Boñ’ (*Bononia*, or Boulogne?) seven hundred and one quarter of Reygate free-



stone, and for freight and unloading thereof, and for burnt lime, and for plaster of Paris purchased for the aforesaid works,

£ 25 18 9½

‘For tiles to cover the said houses and to repair other the King’s houses there, with the carriage of the same,

£ 6 8 0

‘For a new glass window bought for the Queen’s Oriel, and for the repairs of other windows there,

9s. 10d.

‘For shoots or cuttings of divers plants of vines, willows, &c., and certain other purchases for the garden of the King and Queen there,

118s. 4d.

‘For the wages of masons, carpenters, and other workmen about the aforesaid works during the above time, £77 14 6½

‘For boards bought for divers “solar” (probably floors) and other things of the houses of the chaplain officiating in the chapel of the King’s Mews, and for the King’s falconers dwelling there; for keys for the said houses, plaster of Paris, colours to paint the said Mews, and the painting of the same, for an earthen mound (embankment) newly made about the said Mews, and for necessities for the offices there,

£49 14 11

‘For the wages of masons, carpenters, and others working at the aforesaid Mews, during the time aforesaid, £6 17 11½

In the 6th of Edward I. (anno 1278) the King received the homage of Ralph de Levelaund, the son and heir of Margery, who was the wife of Fulk Peyforer, deceased, who held *in capite* of the King, by serjeanty, the custody of the Palace of Westminster, and the King’s Prison of the Fleet.\*

\* “Rot. Orig. Abbreviatio,” vol. i. p. 29, edit. 1805. In the 1st year of Edward’s reign, the citizens of London were allowed in their account rendered in the Exchequer, the sum of £ 10 12 2, which had been paid by them to the heirs of Richard Levelaunds for the custody of the King’s houses at Westminster.

The refusal of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, to come to England to pay his accustomed homage, had highly incensed the English monarch, who, having prepared "a mighty power," departed from Westminster, in the quindene of Easter 1277, for the purpose of chastising his vassal. On this occasion the Courts of the King's Bench and the Exchequer were removed to Shrewsbury, from Michaelmas in the above year until the 15th day of St. Hilary following, when they "wer brought ageyn to Westm'." Llewellyn was constrained to submit, and having been received, says the annalist, "with a kisse of peace," he accompanied the King into England, and kept his Christmas with him at Westminster.

At Michaelmas 1278, a Parliament was held at Westminster, when Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, appeared before Edward in the King's chamber there, "*Et ibidem optulit idem Rex Scotiæ eidem Regi Angliæ devenire hominem suum ligeum, et facere ei homagium suum.*" The oath of fealty to the sovereign of England was taken in the name of the King of Scotland, by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, appointed deputy or locum tenens for that purpose, by special permission of King Edward. "*Prædictus Rex Scotiæ fidelitatem illam, sic nomine suo et vice suâ per prædictum Robertum juratam et factam, confirmavit et ratificavit.*" The homage thus paid by the Scottish King for the lands which he held of the King of England, was by the latter, some years afterwards, made one of his pretexts for the invasion of Scotland.\*

ster; and likewise 60s. 8d. paid to William the Chaplain, for celebrating Divine Service in the Chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster. Vide "Rot. Cancell." 1st Edw. I.

\* "*Fœdera*," vol. I. part ii. p. 563. In Pinkerton's "*Iconographia Scotica*," there is an ill-executed print of a sitting of Parliament, in which

In July 1279, several singular precepts, tested by the King at Westminster, were directed to the sheriffs of different counties, requiring them to search out and imprison all those injurious slanderers, who had spread reports that the King had commanded that ‘no corn should be harvested, nor meadows mowed,’ as well as with other falsehoods, ‘which he had never uttered nor imagined, and at which he was justly displeased.’\*

In 1280, according to Stow, the King “caused his father’s sepulture at Westminster to be richly garnished with precious stones of jasper, which he had brought out of France for that purpose.” He appears also, to have contributed to the furtherance of the rebuilding of the abbey church, of which it is recorded, that “the new worke to the end of the choir was fully finished in 1285.”† In this year also, at a Parliament held at Westminster, at the feast of Easter, the celebrated Statutes were made, which our historians have denominated the “*Additamenta Glocestriæ*,” or the “Second *Statutes of Westminster*.”‡

On the return of the King from Gascony (in August 1289) where, and in other foreign parts, he had continued upwards of three years, he immediately directed a rigid inquiry into the gross corruption of which his justices had been guilty during his absence beyond sea. Nearly all the judges of his superior Courts at Westminster, together with their officers, were deeply implicated in this and other glaring abuses, and the escheators and justices itinerant had been alike guilty

King Edward is represented on a throne at the upper end, with Alexander, King of Scotland, on a lower seat on his right hand, and Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, similarly seated on his left hand. It is described as executed from a copy of an ancient limning that was formerly in the College of Arms at London.

\* “*Fœdera*,” p. 575.

† Holinshed’s “*Chronicle*,” sub eod. anno.

‡ See “*The Statutes of the Realm*,” vol. i, p. 71, edit. 1810.



of "wrongfull iudgements," and "manie hainous crimes." Sir Thomas Weiland or Weyland, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was declared guilty of procuration of murder, was banished the kingdom, besides having all his property "confiscate into the King's coffers." Seven or eight other justices were punished by heavy fines and imprisonment in the Tower; and Adam de Stratton, Chief Baron of the Exchequer (who appears to have been an ecclesiastic) was deprived of all his temporal possessions, amounting in value to nearly 40,000 marks. It appears from Walsingham, that these offences gave the King occasion to oblige the Judges to swear "that for the future they would take neither money nor present of any kind, unless it was a breakfast, which they might accept, provided there was no excess."

During the sitting of a Parliament at Westminster, in the year 1290, the Prior of the Church of the Holy Trinity of London, and Bogo de Clare (brother to the Earl of Gloucester), were attached to answer the King, Peter de Chanet (the king's steward), Walter de Fancourt (the king's marshal), Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (the king's nephew), and the Abbot of Westminster (Walter de Wenlock), of this: that, whereas the said earl, by the king's command, came to his Parliament at London, and was passing through the *great Hall* of Westminster, towards the king's council (where every one ought to pass lawfully and peaceably, and pursue his business without being liable to receive citations or summonses), the said prior, by the procuration of the said Bogo, on the Friday before the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary last past (February the 2d), cited the aforesaid earl in the said hall, to appear on a certain day before the Archbishop of Canterbury, to answer what should be then objected to him,—to the manifest contempt of the king, and his dishonour, to the amount of £10,000; and to the injury of

the liberties of the church of the said abbot (granted by the Court of Rome); since the aforesaid place is wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of all archbishops or bishops whomsoever, by the liberties granted to him and his church of Westminster, and to the damage of the said abbot, £1,000; to the injury of the earl, £5,000; and to the manifest prejudice of the office of the aforesaid steward and marshal, since it pertaineth to them, and no other, to make attachments in the *king's palace*. The aforesaid prior and Bogo de Clare admitted the fact of the citation, but asserted their ignorance of the exemption of the place, and threw themselves on the king's mercy. They were, however, committed to the Tower, this act being regarded as a direct violation of the privileges of Parliament; but were subsequently admitted to bail. Bogo de Clare was also subjected to pay a fine of 1,000 marks to the king, and £1,000 to the earl; but through the intercession of the Bishop of Durham, and others, the latter fine was reduced to £100.\*

\* Vide "Rot. Parliamentorum," vol. i. p. 17. Prynne, in his "History of King John," &c. (p. 406) has made the following deductions respecting the legal immunities of the *king's palace* from the above case: "From this record and judgment it is most evident; first, that the *king's royal palace* is exempted from all archiepiscopal and episcopal jurisdiction whatsoever; 2dly, that the serving of a citation therein by any officer of the archbishop, is a high contempt and dishonour to the king, in those who serve, or procure it to be there served, on any person; deserving a very great fine to the king, and imprisonment in the Tower of London, especially during the king's personal presence there, and in time of Parliament, upon a peer and member of Parliament, and an injury both to the king's steward and marshal; 3dly, that Westminster Abbey was by the pope's bulls, and our king's charters, exempted from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction; 4thly, that the fine and imprisonment imposed on them in this case, was not for any breach of the privilege of Parliament, not here mentioned nor insisted on (as Sir Edward Coke, 4th Instit. p. 2, and Mr. Elsinge, "Manner of holding Parliaments," p. 144-5, mistake), but for the contempt, injury, and dishonour, to the king, his palace, privilege, officers, and the court."

Another breach of privilege at Westminster occurred in the early part of the year 1294, when, William de Sadington having been struck in the great hall by Geoffrey de Parchemin, the latter was fined 20s. and committed to the custody of the marshal.\*

On the 12th of December 1291, the *heart* of King Henry the Third was delivered by Abbot Wenlock of Westminster, to the Abbess of Font-Everaud, in Normandy, to which foundation it had been promised by that sovereign; his grandfather Henry II., and his uncle Richard Cœur de Lion, having been interred there.† His body, however, was suffered to remain in the monastery at Westminster, which he had appointed for his burial-place, by deed, in 1245, when he commenced the rebuilding of the abbey church.

From the Wardrobe and other accounts which are still extant, it appears that in 1292, and the two following years, many artificers were employed in different works, but particularly in *painting*, at the "King's chapel in his Palace at Westminster." These rolls were first mentioned by Mr. Topham in his Memoir on St. Stephen's Chapel, (published by the Society of Antiquaries,) as remaining in the Exchequer; but they were afterwards more particularly examined by Mr. Hawkins, when in search of information for Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster." Twelve rolls in all, have been found, which appear to form portions of a series regularly numbered from 1 to 113. The earliest roll commences on April 28th, 1292, and the last concludes with the week after the feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, 1294. Generally speaking, each roll contains the accounts of a single week, but in one instance two weeks are included.

\* "Placitorum Abbreviatio," p. 291: edit. 1811.

† The precept of King Edward for this delivery, has been printed in the "Foedera," vol. I. part ii. p. 758; from the archives in the Tower.



The highest weekly expenses varied from about £5 to £13. Ninety-four masons were at work in one week, and forty-two in another, together with fifty-five stone-cutters, six carpenters, &c. Whilst the painters (to whom most of the rolls relate) were employed, the highest weekly charge was £3. 18s. 3d.; the lowest £1. 3s. 8d.: the number of painters, on an average, was about twelve or thirteen.

These rolls furnish interesting information concerning the rate of wages of artificers at the close of the thirteenth century. We learn that the superior masons, who were engaged in the years 1291 and 1292, had 6d. a day, and that the wages of the others varied from 4d. to 4½d. and 5d. a day; the weekly wages of the apparitor, or foreman, were 3s. 6d.; the squarers of stone, and their assistants, were paid from 4d. to 5d. a day. Wages of the principal smith 6d. a day; of carpenters from 4½d. to 5d. a day; of plumbers 4½d. to 6d. a day; of tilers 5d. a day.

The wages of the painters in those years, were as follow. Master Walter, the principal painter, was paid 14d. a day, the others smaller sums, in general from 7d. to 3d. a day. Two individuals, Andrew (Andrea) and Giletto, probably Italians, had conjointly 6s. 8d. for six days, and 8s. in another week for the same time.

Among the articles charged in these accounts, are several which clearly demonstrate that *painting in oil-colours* formed a part of the decorations that were then in progress. Oil and cole and varnish, with white and red lead, vermilion and azure, and sinople, are repeatedly mentioned; together with gold and silver (*leaf*), of which considerable quantities were used. These articles, as Mr. Hawkins has remarked, "could not have been wanted for mere *house* painting;" and hence, as well as from the length of time which the artists were employed, he judiciously infers, "that the paintings were not

even heraldical bearings (exclusively), but human figures; either portraits or ideal representations, and historical subjects, such as were afterwards painted on the walls when the chapel was rebuilt by Edward the Third.\*

From the prices mentioned in these rolls, it appears that a 'pottle of oil' cost  $5d.$  or  $6d.$ ; a pound of red lead  $2d.$ ; a pound of white lead  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  or  $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ ; a pound of tin  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; a quartern of azure  $1s.$ ; a pound of red varnish  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  and  $4d.$ ; a quartern of sinople  $1s.$ ; a pound of green  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; one hundred (probably books) of gold-leaf  $3s. 4d.$ ; one hundred of silver-leaf  $6d.$ ; and a quartern of vermillion (probably—of a hundred weight,)  $6s. 5d.$

In September 1294, a Parliament was held at Westminster, at which John (Baliol) King of Scotland was present, and wherein it was determined to make war against France, towards the charges of which Baliol consented to grant all the revenues of his paternal estates in England for three years. Soon afterwards, King Edward royally entertained in his Palace, during several days, the 'four noble envoys' of the King of Arragon, with whom he was secretly negotiating for assistance in the proposed war.†

\* Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster," p. 76. It may be further remarked that Master *Walter*, the principal painter concerned in these decorations, was almost unquestionably the painter of that name, who executed the *pictures* in the king's chamber, as before mentioned under the date 1267. At that time he was probably a young man, but in the 20th of Edward I. (anno 1292), he appears to have had a son old enough to assist his father, a "Thomas, son of Master Walter," being mentioned in all the above Rolls relating to painter's works as employed on a rising salary at from  $1s. 6d.$  to  $3s.$  a week. It is observable that the names of the painters are almost invariably distinguished by that of the county or place from which they came; viz. John of Soningdon, John of Carlisle, Roger of Winchester, Thomas of Worcester, Roger of Ireland, John of Nottingham, William of Ross, William of Oxford, Godfrey of Norfolk, and others.

† Matt. Westminster, "Flores Historiorum," p. 421, Franc. 1601.

On the 29th of March 1298 “a vehement fire,” according to Stow, “being kindled in the lesser hall in the King’s Palace at Westminster, the flame thereof being driven with the wind fired the monasterie adjoining, which, with the Palace, were both consumed.”\* Stow’s authority is Matthew of Westminster, whose words are as follow: “A. Gr̃. 1298, accedente rege Angliæ ad Westmonast. 4 kal. Aprilis, accenso que igne vehementi in *minori aula* Palatii, flamma tecturam domus attingens, ventoque agitata, Abbatiae vicinæ ædificia cum Palatio regis devoravit.”†

This account is certainly exaggerated in regard to the monastery of Westminster; although Flete, following Walsingham, has stated that the flames ‘being driven by the wind, devoured the edifices of the neighbouring Abbey;’ but this must certainly be restricted to some of the outer buildings eastward of the chapter-house. In respect to the Palace itself, the devastation unquestionably was much greater, since we ascertain from different records, that the King was constrained to remove to the palace of the Archbishop of York, at Whitehall, where he continued occasionally to reside until his decease.

In the Wardrobe accounts of the 25th of Edward I.,‡ is an entry to this effect, under the dates April the 3rd and June the 18th: ‘Paid to John le Coniers, sent by the King [who was then in the North,] to Westminster, to repair the houses and walls of the court of the Archbishop of York there, and to do other works by the King’s appointment against the King’s coming there,—for timber, nails, glass, windows, and other building materials, and for the wages of the workmen, £19 16 11.’

\* Stow’s “Chronicle,” p. 318.

† “Flores Hist.” p. 421.

‡ Vide “Additional MSS.” in the British Museum, fol. 196.



We also learn from the Parliament Rolls of the 28th of Edward I. (anno 1360), that ‘the King and his Council assembled in the chamber of the dwelling of the Archbishop of York at Westminster, about Easter in that year.’\*

Again, in the wardrobe accounts of the 32nd of Edward I.† (anno 1304), there is this entry: ‘Paid to Walter de Clerkewell, chaplain, appointed to superintend the construction of two new chambers for the King and Queen, in the palace of the Archbishop of York at Westminster, for building materials, &c. between the 12th of August and the 14th of November, £42 10 2.’

In the year 1302, some very singular proceedings took place in Parliament respecting the claims made by the Abbot of Westminster to certain duties upon all merchants and traders who exposed their goods for sale within the *precincts* of the *King's Palace*, during the celebration of St. Edward's fair. The following account of these proceedings is derived from the Parliament Rolls of the 30th of Edward I. The Parliament itself had assembled at Westminster, fifteen days after Michaelmas.

Walter (de Wenlock) Abbot of Westminster, shewed that by a charter of King Henry III., confirmed by the reigning King, he had a right to hold a fair at Westminster, and during the time of that fair he was entitled to the same privileges that were exercised by the Bishop of Winton at the fair of St. Giles's Hill, Winchester; and that the said bishop and his predecessors had of right, at the time of the Winchester fair, levied tolls from all merchants bringing goods for sale into the city or suburbs, and that none were allowed to expose goods for sale during the time of the fair except in the

\* “Rot. Parl.” vol. i. p. 143.

† Vide “Additional MSS.” ut supra, fol. 20 b.

place appointed : and the abbot further said, that John de Noer, Michael le Patmer, and other merchants, bringing goods for sale at Westminster, and exposing them in places different from that appointed by the abbot for holding the fair, he had, in virtue of his chartered privilege, seized those goods. The merchants impleaded the abbot and his bailiffs before the *steward* and *marshals* of the *king's house* at *Westminster*, namely, the residence of the Archbishop of York ; and they, at the complaint of the said merchants, had relieved their property from distraint, to the manifest injury of the church ; wherefore the abbot prays the king and council, after having heard the royal charters and confirmations, on which he grounded his claim, to grant him remedy. It was therefore ordered by the king and council, that Walter de Beauchamp, his steward, should in full council produce the record of the preceding complaint ; which he did accordingly.

The steward having stated the names of the aggrieved merchants, and the value of the goods seized by the abbot's officers, with his own proceedings, in consequence of the seizure ; and it appearing from the charters produced by the abbot, that he was entitled to the same rights and privileges with respect to the fair at Westminster, as were exercised by the Bishop of Winchester at the fair of St. Giles's Hill ; a writ was directed to the sheriff of Hants, requiring him to return an account, on the inquisition of a jury of good men and true, of the extent and importance of the power possessed by the Bishop of Winchester at the fair held near that city.

The return to this writ being made, it clearly appeared that the rights of the bishop were very considerable ; and that no business could be transacted during the fair of St. Giles's Hill, but at the place appointed, except under peculiar restrictions, and that his authority extended not only

over the city and suburbs, but to the country around within seven leagues.

On the receipt of this statement, the king's council decided, that though the Abbot of Westminster had seized the property of the merchants in *houses* within the *verge of the palace*, as he was only prosecuting his own right, without injury to the king, or those who held those houses of the king in fee, and since his jurisdiction was decided to be similar to that of the Bishop of Winchester, and it plainly appeared by their own admission that the merchants had infringed his regulations as to the place of sale for goods, that therefore the abbot should have return of the goods distrained.\*

In the same Parliament (30th Edw. I.) was presented a petition from Thomas le Marschal and others, *tenants* of the *king's palace*, setting forth, that they and their ancestors had never been subject to the jurisdiction of any one but the Bailiff of the Palace, and complaining that at the time of the fair at Westminster, the bailiffs of the abbot had prevented merchants from exercising traffic within the verge of the palace, fining them for disobedience in their own courts, at their pleasure, to the great damage of the tenants aforesaid; and therefore they begged remedy from the king, alledging that the palace ought to be the freest place in England, "*le plus frank leu D'engleterre*." The petitioners were told, that if they thought themselves wronged they might apply to the Court of Chancery.†

In the year 1303, the king's treasury, which was then within the precincts of the abbey at Westminster,‡ was robbed of jewel-

\* "Rot. Parl." vol. i. pp. 150—152.

† "Rot. Parl." vol. i. p. 155.

‡ In Dart's *Westmonasterium*, vol. ii. p. 27, it is affirmed that this Treasury "was in the Cloisters."



lery to a very large amount ; but a part of the stolen valuables were afterwards recovered. On the 6th of June, an order was issued by the King, who was then in Scotland, to Ralph de Sandwich and others, to make inquisition concerning this depredation ;\* and about a fortnight afterwards, John de Drokensford, keeper of the King's wardrobe, accompanied by those appointed to make the inquiry, entered the treasury, and found the chests and coffers broken open, and much of the treasure gone. The Abbot (Wenlock), with about fifty of his monks, were in consequence committed to the Tower, on the charge of stealing property to the value of £100,000.† Twelve of them were kept two years in prison without trial ; but at length, on Lady day 1305, the King, who had come to the church at Westminster to return thanks for his victory over the Scots, gave orders for their discharge.

A singular case, having reference to the privileges of the *Law Courts* at Westminster, has been recorded on the "Placita Roll" of the 34th of Edward I., which is now preserved among the national archives in the Chapter-house at Westminster. The conduct of the king, in respect to his ungracious son, which is incidentally mentioned in the record, will forcibly remind the reader of an occurrence in the life of Henry the Fifth, when Prince of Wales, which forms so beautiful a scene in one of Shakespeare's dramas. ‡

‘ Roger de Heexham complained to the king, that whereas he was the justice appointed to determine a dispute between Mary the wife of William de Brewes [Braose], plaintiff, and William de Brewes, defendant, respecting a sum of 800

\* See "Mem. de Jocalibus a Garderoba R. surreptis," in "Selections from the Miscellaneous Records," recently printed by the Record Commissioners, p. 277, &c.

† "Fœdera," vol. i. p. 959.

‡ Vide "The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth," Act v. Scene 2.

marks which she claimed from him, and that having decided in favour of the former, the said William, immediately after judgment was pronounced, contemptuously approached the bar, and asked the said Roger, in gross and upbraiding language, if he would defend that judgment; and he afterwards insulted him in bitter and taunting terms, as he was going through the Exchequer chamber to the king, saying to him, ‘Roger, Roger, thou hast now obtained thy will of that thou hast long desired.’”

William de Brewes, when arraigned before the King and his Council for this offence, acknowledged his guilt; ‘and because,’ says the record, ‘such contempt and disrespect, as well towards the king’s ministers as towards the king himself, or his court, are *very odious* to the king,—as of late *expressly appeared*, when his majesty *expelled* from his household, for nearly *half a year*, his dearly-beloved son Edward, Prince of Wales, on account of certain *improper words* which he had addressed to one of his ministers, and suffered him not to enter his presence until he had rendered satisfaction to the said officer for his offence, it was decreed by the king and council that the aforesaid William should proceed, unattired, bare-headed, and holding a torch in his hand, from the King’s Bench in Westminster-hall, during full court, to the Exchequer, and there ask pardon from the aforesaid Roger, and make an apology for his trespass.’ He was afterwards, for his contempt towards the king and his court, committed to the Tower, there to remain during the king’s pleasure.

King Edward being intent on the subjugation of Scotland, and with a view to augment his forces for an expedition into that country which he was then meditating, caused proclamation to be made throughout England, in the year 1306, that all those who were heirs to estates held by military tenure, “ut quotquot tenerentur fieri milites successione

paterna, et qui haberent unde militarent," should make their appearance at Westminster at the feast of Pentecost, to be admitted; each to be equipped (except with respect to his horse's trappings,) from the royal wardrobe. Three hundred young men, therefore, the sons of earls, barons, and knights, assembled and received purple, silk, fine linen, and girdles embroidered with gold, according to their respective rank. And because the royal palace, though large, was too confined for such a crowd of persons, they went to the New Temple at London, cutting down fruit trees, levelling walls, and erecting tents and booths, which the young aspirants severally decorated with their embroidered vestments: and as many as could take up their quarters there, kept their watch during the night. But the Prince of Wales, by the direction of his father, with the noblest of the young men, kept watch in the church of Westminster. Then, so great was the clang of the trumpets and pipes, and the noise of the acclamations, that the convent could not hear the service of the choir. The following day, the King girded his son with the belt of a knight in his palace, and gave to him the Duchy of Aquitaine. The Prince, being knighted, went to shew himself in his triumph to his associates in military glory. There was then such pressure about the high altar that two knights died, and several fainted away, though each had at least three soldiers to lead and defend him. The Prince therefore proceeded no further, but the crowd being removed from the great altar, he girded his companions. Then there were brought two swans (*duo cygni vel olores*) before the King, with glorious pomp, adorned with gold nets, and gilded ornaments, a desirable spectacle to beholders. Viewing them, the King vowed to the God of Heaven and the Swans,\* that he would go into

\* Matt. West. "*Flores Hist.*" p. 454, 5. The singular ceremonial of making a vow of arms before the *Swan*, is also mentioned by Trivet as having taken



Scotland, and dead or alive, avenge the death of John Comyn and the broken faith of the Scots: adjuring the Prince, and the other great men of the land, to give him their promise, that if he should die, his body should be carried before them into Scotland, and that he should not be buried until they had triumphed over the perfidious King and nation. They all gave him assurance that they were prepared either in the King's life, or after his death with the Prince, to go to Scotland, and fulfil the royal vow.

By the Statute of Talliage, which was passed at Westminster in the 34th year of Edward the First, the right of the Commons' Representatives to interfere in the granting of supplies, was distinctly recognized; for it is provided by that act, "that no talliage, or aid, shall be taken without the assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, *burgesses*, and other *freemen* of the land;"—the latter, unquestionably, were the '*liberi homines*' of the common law. In the following year (April the 5th, 1305) another Parlia-

place on this occasion. It was one of the usual chivalric observances of this period; and some have supposed that there is an allusion to it in the poem in old French, on the "Siege of Carloverock," published by Sir H. Nicolas, the writer styling Sir Robert de Tony as "a Knight of the Swan," "Chevalier a Cygne." This knight, who distinguished himself at Carloverock, afterwards fell into disgrace with the King, and probably was not present at the ceremony mentioned in the text. Sir H. Nicolas observes that "Although Tony might on a former occasion have made his vows 'before the Swan,' it does not explain why he only of the poet's heroes should have been described as a 'Knight of the Swan.'" It also appears that Sir Robert de Tony assumed the swan as his badge on his seal, and therefore the title given to him may have had reference to his pedigree, as claiming descent, in common with the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick, the Bohuns, and the Staffords, from the "Knight of the Swan," celebrated in the popular romance of that title, and from whom the Counts of Boulogne were said to be lineally descended. See "The Siege of Carloverock, &c. with Memoirs of the Personages commemorated by the Poet." By N. H. Nicolas, Esq. 1822. Notes, p. 369, 370.

ment was held at Westminster, ‘in the house of the archbishop of York, where the king then stayed;’ and on this occasion letters from the pope, Benedict the Eleventh, were presented by his nuncio.\*

The king had been greatly irritated by the murder of Comyn, (who had sworn to him allegiance, and betrayed to him the design of the Scots to revolt,) and he resolved to be signally revenged on the Scottish nation. With that intent, he summoned all his military vassals to meet him at Carlisle, in July 1306, where he joined them, and in the following January held his last parliament, in which the celebrated ordinance, called the ‘Statute of Carlisle,’ was made against the exactions of ecclesiastical foundations. Edward was ill when he quitted London, and for a considerable time he remained, through weakness, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle; but finding some improvement in his health, he at length began his march into Scotland, with the determination, according to our annalists, to “destroy that kingdom from sea to sea.” His progress, however, was soon checked by the ravages of disease, and he expired at but a short distance from Carlisle, at Burgh on the Sands, on the 7th of

\* “Rot. Parl.” vol. i. pp. 178, 179. From the same work (Ibid. p. 143) we learn, that a Council was held, “in Camera Hospitii Archiepiscopi Eboraci, apud Westm’.” on the Thursday after Palm Sunday, 1300.—It appears, also, from the same authority, (p. 76,) that in a cause prosecuted before parliament, in the 20th of Edward I. (anno 1292,) between the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, the earls, and some of their manucaptors, made their appearance on a day appointed before the king and his council, in the house of Otho de Grandisson, (who was one of the council,) without the palace of the king at Westminster. Among the archives in the office of the King’s Remembrancer of the Exchequer, there is the fragment of a roll of payments, &c. of the 33d of Edward I. for work done at the house of the Archbishop of York, ‘against the coming of the king, in the week in which was the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,’ and for ‘a new hall, and other chambers, built there for the king.’

July 1307. His strong exasperation against the Scots may be appreciated by his dying commands to his son Edward, whom he enjoined, in the most solemn manner, to prosecute the war, and “to carry his *dead bones* along with the army to the very extremity of Scotland.” This command is thus mentioned by Froissart:—The king ‘called his eldest son, and made him swear by the Saints, in the presence of all his barons, that as soon as he should be dead he would have his body boiled in a large cauldron, until the flesh should be separated from the bones; that he would have the flesh buried, and the bones preserved; and that every time the Scots should rebel against him, he would summon his people and carry against them the bones of his father: for he believed most firmly that, as long as his bones should be carried against the Scots, those Scots would never be victorious.’\*

Edward’s injunctions, however strongly they had been urged, had little influence over the depraved mind of his successor. He advanced, indeed, into Scotland; yet it was no further than to Cumnock, in Ayrshire, and thence, under the pretence of making preparations for his marriage and coronation, he hastily returned into England. In defiance, also, of his father’s threatened malediction, he recalled from banishment his profligate favourite, Piers de Gaveston, upon whom he conferred the title of Earl of Cornwall, and lavished on him both estates and treasures; among the former of which was the entire lordship of the Isle of Man. In the intervening time, he caused the embalmed remains of his father to be conveyed, first, to Waltham Holy Cross, and subsequently to the abbey church at Westminster, where the body was finally interred, on the 28th of October 1307, on

\* Vide “Froissart’s Chronicles,” Johnes’ translation, vol. i. p. xxv.



the south side of the chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, where his tomb still remains.\* During the entire reign of the deceased monarch, the rebuilding of the abbey church had been proceeded with, and the works had been completed from the intersection of the choir and transept to the upper part of the nave. His donations, however, to that edifice, were but few, and (excepting some estates which he had granted to found the anniversary of his first consort, the much-beloved Eleanor,) they chiefly consisted of the Scottish regalia, which had been brought from the abbey of Scone in 1297,† and of certain relics of saints and martyrs.

\* Edward's successor appears to have held his father's advice and memory in equal disregard; but succeeding monarchs paid due respect to our English Justinian, and several royal warrants are extant for renewing the cerecloths round his body, in order to ensure the preservation of his remains. The payments for these operations were defrayed from the royal treasury, as may be deduced from the extracts from the Close Rolls printed in Rymer's "*Fœdera*." The earliest order ("*De cera renovanda circa corpus Edwardi I. avi Regis*") preserved in that collection, is dated July the 6th, in the 13th of Edward III. (vide "*Fœdera*," vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 1084;) but that this was not the first occasion on which the envelopments of the body were ordered to be renewed, is evident from the terms used, viz. "*Ceram circa corpus—renovari faciatis prout hactenus fieri consuevit.*"

In consequence of the curiosity excited by the above warrants, and by other documents relating to King Edward's interment, inserted in the "*Fœdera*," permission was obtained from the Dean of Westminster to open his tomb, and it was done on the 2d of May 1774, in the presence of about twenty persons, chiefly members of the Society of Antiquaries. Edward's body was found in a coffin of Purbeck stone, *within* the raised tomb, and above the general pavement of the chapel. His remains, which were richly habited, and in a fair state of preservation, had an innermost covering of very fine linen cerecloth, dressed closely to the face and hands, and to every part of the body that was allowed to be examined. An interesting account of the proceedings was afterwards drawn up by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. and printed in the 3d volume of the "*Archæologia*."

† The regalia thus presented, consisted of the Coronation chair, inclosing the celebrated prophetic stone, or *palladium* of Scotland, called *Jacob's Pillow*, and

The reign of Edward the Second commenced very unpropitiously for the good of the nation, and its conclusion was not less disastrous to the illfated monarch himself. His favourite Gaveston, who was the son of a gentleman of Guienne, was entrusted with all the authority of the state, and all its honours were lavished upon profligates and foreigners. Under the corrupt sway of this minion of his vices, the young king "began to hold his nobles in no regard, to set nothing by their instructions, and to take small heed unto the good government of the commonwealth, so that within a while he gave himself to wantonness, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure and riotous excess; and Piers, as though he had sworn to make the king to forget himself, and the state to which he was called, furnished his *Court* with companies of jesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in jesting, plaieing, banketing, and such other filthie and dishonourable exercises."\*

Some interruption was put to these excesses by Edward's marriage with Isabella, the beauteous daughter of Philip le Bel, King of France, who was then only in the 13th year of her age. The nuptial ceremony was celebrated with great magnificence at Boulogne, on the 25th of January 1308, in the presence of four kings, three queens, and many other royal and noble personages.†

the sceptre and the golden crown of the Scottish kings. A distinct historical account of the Prophetic Stone will be found in Brayley's "History, &c. of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster," vol. ii. pp. 118 to 136.

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 547, edit. 1807.

† Shortly before his departure for France, divers precepts tested at Westminster were issued by the king to the sheriffs of different counties, requiring them to supply provisions for the approaching coronation festival. That addressed to the Sheriff of Wiltshire bears date on the 4th of January 1308; it orders the sheriff to provide 24 live oxen, 24 live porkers, 4 live boars, and 30

On the return of the king from France, the preparations for his Coronation were soon arranged, and the ceremony was performed in the abbey church at Westminster, on the festival of St. Mathias (February the 25th) 1308, which in that year was on Quinquagesima Sunday. The most complete account of the solemnity is to be found in an ancient Latin manuscript in the British Museum, and the following curious details are derived from that source.\*

The king was crowned by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who officiated in place of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been called upon to answer to somewhat objected to him on the part of his sovereign; but prior to the ceremony the king, in order to save the right of the see of Canterbury—"ut jus ecclesiæ Cantuariæ salveretur"—wrote two epistles to Pope Clement [the Fifth], stating that the archbishop, in consequence of bodily weakness, was not able to be present at the ensuing coronation, to execute the duty which belonged to his official character. The holy pontiff, in consequence of this application, transmitted a commission, under his own seal, to three of the bishops, that the king might appoint one of them to perform the office of coronation. These were the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Chichester; but as the Bishop of Chichester, being the king's chancellor, had the right of presenting the cup of St.

very fat bacon hogs, to be sent to Westminster by the quindene of the Purification of the Virgin. Vide Bibl. Cott. MS. Vespasian, C. xiv. fol. 116.—In the preceding year, the king had addressed a mandate to the Seneschal of Gascony and the Constable of Bourdeaux, dated Clipston, September 25, directing them to procure and send to London, by Christmas-tide, 1,000 *pipes of good wine*, that it might be ready for the approaching coronation; to be paid for by the Friscobaldi, merchants of Florence, who farmed the revenues of Gascony. See "Fœdera," vol. ii. pt. 1. p. 7, edit. 1818.

\* Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, C. xii. fol. 231. A copy of the Coronation Roll of Edward II. with other documents, has been printed in the new edition of the "Fœdera," vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 33—36.



Edward at the coronation, and as the Bishop of Salisbury laboured under corporeal debility, it pleased the king to assign the duty of placing the crown on his head to the Bishop of Winchester. The Archbishop of York, not choosing to come without his cross, (probably from some point of etiquette,) was not permitted to share in the solemnities.

On the morning of the coronation, the king was placed on an elevated seat in the *little hall* at Westminster, "*roba viridi indutus et nigris caligis absque calciamentis calciatus*;" and all the way thence to the abbey church was covered with woollen cloths. Before him were gathered all the earls and knights, and other persons of distinction. In the procession to the church, two golden spurs were borne by Aymer (Earl of Pembroke) the Earl Marshal; after whom came the Earl of Hereford, bearing the royal sceptre with the cross; and next followed Henry of Lancaster, son of the Lord Edmund [Crouchback], brother of the late king, who carried the royal staff with a dove on the top. Then followed the Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln, and Warwick, bearing three swords; that called *Curtana* being carried by the former earl. Next appeared the treasury, on which were the regal vestments; this was borne by the Earl of Arundel, Thomas de Vere, (son and heir of the Earl of Oxford,) Lord Hugh le Despencer, and Lord Roger de Mortimer, of Wigmore, who were followed by the king's treasurer, carrying the patera of the chalice of King Edward [the Confessor]. Then came the Lord Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, bearing the crown ornamented with precious stones; and after him came the King himself, who was about to be crowned, over whose head a canopy was supported by the Barons of the Cinque Ports.

When the king came to the great altar, he laid upon it a pound of gold. He also took the oaths previously to his coronation, in the following form:—

*Interrogacio Episcopi.* — “Sire, volez vous graunter et garder, et par vostre serment confermir, au poeple d’Angleterre, les leys et les coustumes à eux grauntez par les aunciens Rois d’Angleterre voz predecessours, droiterels et devoutez a Dieu, et nomement les leys, les coustumes, et les fraunchises grauntes au clergie et au poeple par le glorious Roy Saint Edward, vostre predecessour?”

*Responsio Regis.* — “Je les graunt et promet.”

“Sire, garderez vous a Dieu et a Saint Eglise, et au clergie et au poeple, pais et acord en Dieu entierement solonc vostre poer?”

“Je le garderez.”

“Sire, ferez vous paraistre en touz les jugementz ouele et droite justice et descrecion en misericorde et verite a vostre poeple?”

“Je le ferez.”

“Sire, graunterez vous a tenir et a garder les leys et les coustumes droitureles, les quoy la comunaute de vostre Reaume aura esleuz, et les defenderez et afforcerez al honneur de Dieu a vostre poer?”

“Je les graunte et promets.”\*

After this, the Bishop of Winchester proceeded to the duties of anointing and consecrating the king, according to the *Ordinale*, which at this solemnity was borne by John de Lenham, a brother of the order of Friars Preachers. When the king’s spurs were to be put on, the Lord Charles, brother to the King of France and uncle to the queen, performed that office in respect to the right shoe and spur; but the left shoe was put on by the Earl of Pembroke, and the left spur by the Earl of Cornwall. After these ceremonies, the king took the crown from the altar, and delivered it

\* As this is one of the earliest instances in which the terms of the Coronation Oath are so particularly recorded, we have followed the precise orthography of the manuscript.

into the hands of the bishop, who placed it on the king's head ; and he being thus crowned, was led to a raised throne between the monks' choir and the presbytery of the great altar ; upon which the clergy, with a loud voice, sung *Te Deum laudamus*.

These things having been done, the Lady Isabella, the king's consort, standing in the same place which the king had occupied, was crowned by the Bishop of Winchester, immediately before the commencement of the mass :—and when they came to the offertory in the mass, the king descended from his seat, and laid upon the great altar one mark of gold, being a portion of that before mentioned. There also was placed an image of St. John, as a pilgrim, extending his hand to receive the ring from St. Edward ; and of the pound of gold which the king had first brought to the great altar, a part was an image of St. Edward offering the ring to the pilgrim.

At the conclusion of the mass, the king wearing his crown before the great altar, devoutly received the sacrament in the presence of the bishops and prelates. Then the king, crowned, bearing the sceptre in his right hand, and the royal staff in his left, with all the apparatus of the coronation [regalia], was conducted to his palace ; and in a chamber there that apparatus was deposited, to be afterwards returned to the church of Westminster, in which it was kept. When equipped in other apparel, the king went to dine with the prelates, peers, and others, in the *great hall*, where, on the same day, he bestowed knighthood on the son of his sister the Countess of Gloucester, and many others. At this festival, the Earl of Lancaster, as steward, presented the king's cup, and others served him according to their offices. Dinner being over, the king in his regal habiliments retired to his chamber where all his clothes were deposited except the



shirt, tunic, breeches, and shoes, “*quæ, propter sacram unctionem, super regem tota nocte quousque lavaretur in custumum permanserint.*” \*

The barons felt so greatly insulted by Gaveston being suffered to appear and walk in the procession immediately before the king, “without regard to the claims of inheritance, or the precedents of former reigns,” that they assembled three days afterwards in the *refectory* of the monks at Westminster, and in a spirited petition to the king required the immediate banishment of his pampered favourite. Edward engaged to return an answer in the ensuing parliament, (to be held in April,) yet in the interim he continued to lavish both the honours and the treasures of the state upon Gaveston, to the extreme, even, of permitting him to wear the crown jewels, and also the crown itself! This conduct could not be borne: Gaveston was compelled to quit England, and to swear, under the sentence of excommunication, that he would never return. The king accompanied him to Bristol, and he sailed from that port; but, to the great surprize and mortification of the barons, they soon learned that he had landed in Ireland, and assumed the government there by royal appointment. That the king was not without personal fear from the strong indignation which had been thus excited, is evinced by his issuing writs to the sheriffs, tested at Westminster on October the 4th, ‘prohibiting the holding of tour-

\* It is remarkable that some of the minor charges for this coronation remained unsettled, even so late as the 15th or 16th year of the king’s reign, as appears from the Rolls of Parliament, on which petitions are entered from Richard de Hurst, of London, for the payment of ten shillings for sea coal; and from Dionise le Lymbrennere [Lime-burner], of two marks for lime. Both articles are stated to have been furnished to John de Norton, Clerk of the Palace, for the king’s coronation. Vide “Rot. Parl.” vol. i. pp. 405, 406. At this Coronation, Sir John Bakewell, or Blackwell, was pressed to death by the crowd.

naments,' and ordering that 'all persons summoned to the parliament about to assemble at Westminster, should appear there without horses or arms, under penalty of body, lands, and goods.'\*

During the early part of this reign, as may be deduced from the original accounts still existing in the King's Remembrancer's Office, some considerable works were in progress at Westminster, but we are unable to ascertain the distinct sums that were expended on the Palace alone, the charges for the Tower and the Mews being blended with them. In Edward's first year, nearly £3,200 was thus laid out, the chief particulars of the expenditure of which will be seen by the following abstracts from the original record :

' Account of Nicholas de Tikehulle and John de Norton, Clerks, appointed by Walter Fitz-Reginald, the King's Treasurer, to keep account of the charges for the works at the Palace of Westminster, at the Tower of London, and at the King's Mews, near Westminster; under the survey of William de Staverton, Clerk and Comptroller; from Aug. 7, 1st Edward II. to Mar. 10 next ensuing, when William de Staverton retired from the office, and from that day to the feast of St. Michael in the following year.

' They acknowledge the receipt (at different times) of £3,828. 2s. 8d. by writs of "Liberate," or writs from the Treasurer and Chamberlain, for the abovementioned works; and of £532. 17s. 5½d. received from the King's Wardrobe, by his own hands, and by the hands of various other persons, as mentioned in the receipts delivered in to the Treasury.

Sum total . . . £4,361. 0s. 1½d.

' For these sums, they account by money expended for great and small timber, boards, clay, stone of Caen, Rey-

\* Vide "Foedera," vol. ii. pt. 1. p. 59, edit. 1818.

gate, Boulogne, and Ailesford, lime, chalk, tiles, lead, iron, shingles, plaster [of Paris], pitch, laths, keys, large and small, sand, and other necessary articles bought and provided for the before-mentioned works, namely, from August 7, in the first year of King Edward II., to Michaelmas in that year, as specified in the particulars delivered to the Treasury, £1038. 13s. 6d.; for payments for carriage and portage by land and water, £19. 11s. 1½d.; for the wages of carpenters, sawyers, masons, smiths, glaziers, painters, plasterers, well-sinkers, tilers, torch bearers, and scourers of the halls for the Coronation, and other workmen employed about the said work, £1,966. 7s. 11½d.; and for miscellaneous payments by the treasurer and chamberlain, £40. 13s. 4d.; and for payments to various persons by order of the keeper of the wardrobe, J. de Benstede, £127. 5s. 6½d.

‘Sum total, for the first year, £3191. 12s. 5½d.’

That far more minute accounts are extant, in respect to the above expenditure, will be evident from the ensuing particulars, which will elucidate the distinct manner in which those accounts were originally kept.

There is an ancient manuscript, on vellum, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.\* relating to the works that were carried on at Westminster, &c. in the 1st year of Edward the Second’s reign, from which the following is a translated abstract of the payments made for one week in August 1307. It commences thus :

‘The Account of *Nicholas de Tykhull*, Clerk, of the payments in money made for works at the King’s Palace and

\* This manuscript (or ‘Compotus’) was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps at the second sale of the effects of the late Craven Ord, Esq. (who was the first Secondary in the King’s Remembrancer’s Office,) in January 1830, for the sum of seventy guineas. There can scarcely be a doubt that it had belonged to the Exchequer.



Mews at Westminster, and at the Tower of London, as ordered by the Treasurer, on the part of the King; namely, from the 7th of August, in the first year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, to the 24th of February next ensuing, by the view and testimony of William de Staverton and John de Norton, Comptrollers of those works; and from the same 24th of February, anno 1, to ———, by the view and testimony of the aforesaid John de Norton.

Payments made for these works, by N. de Tykehull, W. de Staverton, and J. de Norton, Clerks, the 13th of August, for the preceding week, at Westminster.

To the Master Mason.—To Master Richard de Wightham, the mason assigned by the Treasurer to superintend and direct each of the works of building, and to be the master in the same office, in all the foregoing places; for his wages for the preceding week, receiving the money by his own hands . . . . . 7s.

To the Stonecutters.—To William of Abyndone, Adam of Pipringe, William of Banbury, Simon of Banbury, Robert of Tychemerche, John of Berkhamstede, Alexander of Hoghton, Milo of Stachesdene, and John of Coumbe, 9 masons employed in cutting large Caen stones—"grossas petras de Cadamo"—for the said works, as task-work, taking for 100 feet 4s., for 480 feet thus cut, receiving the money by the hands of William of Abyndone and Adam of Pipringe . . . . . 19s. 2½d.

To the Master Workman.—To Master James de Leuesham, the workman appointed to oversee the several operations of workmanship in all the beforementioned places. Mem. that nothing was paid to him here, but at the Exchequer, by the Chamberlain, by his writ of *Liberate*.

To 1 Workman, 5*d.* a day.—To Alan de Leuesham, workman, for repairing the hearths or fireplaces [*astras*] in the structure of the Palace, and doing other things necessary; for four days and a half, receiving the money by his own hands . . . . . 22½*d.*

To the inferior Labourers 2½*d.* a day.—John de Tyngri, [and thirty-four other labourers, whose names are mentioned,] for carrying timber, stones, plaster, boards, &c. from the King's Bridge to the Palace, and for divers other necessary kinds of work, for four days and a half, receiving the money by the hands of William de Laddrede and Nigel de Cornubia, to each 11¼.

32*s.* 9¾*d.*

To the inferior Labourers 2½*d.* a day.—To Adam Coleman, and others, in all eleven inferior labourers, for cleansing divers houses and divers places in the Palace, and for carrying filth even to the Thames, receiving the money each by his own hands, for 4 days 10*d.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

For different purchases, chiefly of small articles, as keys, sieves, latches, and other things, in all . . . 3*s.* 11½*d.*

For Carriage.—To John Wisman, carrier, for the carriage of seven thousand of tiles, from East Smithfield, near the Tower of London, to the Palace, reckoning for the carriage of 1,000, 6*d.*, receiving the money by his own hands, 3*s.* 6*d.*—Item, to Henry de Schipman, lighter-man, for seven boat-loads of sand, from the Thames, for making mortar, reckoning for a boat-load 6*d.*, receiving the money by his own hands, 3*s.* 6*d.* . . . 7*s.*

For Porterage.—To Henry Godale, porter, and his associates, for the porterage and carriage of two barge-loads of Caen freestone, from the King's Bridge to the Palace, receiving the money by his own hands . . . 14*d.*

For the scaffolds 3*d.* a day.—To William de Leddred and Richard de Blethelan, scaffold-makers, for work done about the scaffolds for the masons, for six days, to each 18*d.* . . . . . 3*s.*

Sum total of the first payments for wages 0 73 0½

Of the purchases . . . . . 0 3 11

For carriage and portorage . 0 8 2

Total . . . . . £ 4 5 2 \*

From other accounts of Nicholas de Tikehulle and John de Norton, (preserved in the King's Remembrancer's Office,) the following particulars are derived; viz. In the 2*d* year of Edward II. there was expended in different works at the Palace, and at the Tower, for materials, £356. 6*s.* 11½*d.*; for carriage and portorage 6*s.* 2*d.*; for wages £131. 46*s.* 1½*d.*; and in various small payments £19. 18*s.* 8*d.*; making a total of £508. 7*s.* 11*d.* In Edward's 3*d* year, there were similar charges, amounting to £80. 11*s.* 1½*d.*; in his 4*th* year, to £98. 1*s.* 8*d.*; and in his 5*th* year to £53. 14*s.* 11½*d.*†

Of the principal works executed within the Palace at Westminster, in the early part of this reign, we shall now insert a description from another Roll belonging to the King's Remembrancer's Office, which has been discovered since the foregoing pages were composed, and which includes a variety of curious information that has never before been communicated to the public. The Roll is thus headed:

\* This sum exceeds the true amount by about two shillings, as may be seen on reckoning up the different totals.

† There is a petition on the Rolls of Parliament the 14*th* of Edward II. (anno 1315,) from Thomas de Northampton, merchant, for the payment of £34. 10*s.* due to him for lead furnished to Sir Nicholas de Tykhill and John de Norton, for the *overaignes* [gutters] of the King's Palace at Westminster; and for want of which he complains he is kept in poverty. "Rot. Parl." vol. i. p. 378.



‘Memorandum of a great part of the Works ordered and executed in the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, and the King’s Mews, near Westminster, in the time of Edward the son of King Edward, viz. from the beginning of the first until the end of the fourth year of his reign.

‘The *Conduit* of water coming into the Palace, and into the King’s Mews, for the falcons, which in various places was obstructed and injured, and the underground pipes stolen, was completely repaired, and the water returned to its proper course and issues, both at the Palace and at the Mews.

‘The *Little Hall*, which was burnt in the time of the king’s father, was completely repaired and new raised; and the walls of the same hall, both within and without, were provided with corbels,—“*corbellatis*,”—of Caen and Reygate freestone. The gables were heightened and coped, and the walls in many parts strengthened and embattled; and the upper masonry was bound together with large iron ties, with tinned heads,\* on account of the great weight and size of the timbers. The floor of the hall was newly planked in the middle, and strengthened below in various parts with great timber.

‘The *Queen’s Hall*, which was burnt in the time of the late king, was completely repaired and restored in the same manner as the little hall, except that the clamps were not of iron. The flooring of this hall, of which the greater portion had been burnt, and the remaining part was weak and decayed, was repaired and raised, and ceiled underneath.

‘The houses of those persons having custody of the robes

\* The original words are as follow: “Cu’ grossis cavillis ferreis cu’ capitib’ stagnimatis.” The words *grossis cavillis ferreis* evidently allude to what artificers formerly called *horse ties*, but which are now known by the appellation of *dog ties*. We may assume that the outer parts of those mentioned above had been tinned to prevent oxidation.

and private equipage of the king, and which had been burnt, were fully repaired and restored.

‘The *Nursery Chambers* of the sons and daughters of the [late] king and queen,—the “*Maydenhalle*,”—with its chambers, wardrobe, and other conveniences,—“*aysiamentis*,”—the various houses and chambers appropriated to the use of the earls and countesses, the barons and baronesses, and also of two of the queen’s damsels, [maids of honour,] with divers chambers, wardrobes, galleries, &c., all which had been burnt, were fully repaired and restored.

‘The new *Gaol*, situated at the end of the little hall, towards the south, near the Painted Chamber, with a chimney, divers windows, and other necessary conveniences,—newly constructed for festivals when the king banquets in the Little Hall, or in the Painted Chamber,—various inner-cloisters, ways, and passages, within and towards the houses, and all and singular the houses in the inner-court,—“*in interiori ballia palacii*,”—of the palace, which were greatly dilapidated and requiring repair, were now fully repaired and amended.

‘The various chambers about the Little Hall, which were under the direction and appointment of Lord Walter Reginald [Reynolds], treasurer, the Lord John de Berwick, and other magnates, and of the surveyors appointed to superintend the present works, namely, Richerus de Refham, William de Leyre, and John le Conuers; with the wardrobes, chambers, and inner cloisters,—“*int’ claustris*,”—were now altogether newly built.

‘The hall and chambers formerly used by the earls and countesses [in waiting], and now for the deliveries of the keeper of the king’s wardrobe, near the chandlery, were fully repaired and restored.

‘The *Palace* of the Lord Edmund, the [late] king’s brother, all of which, with its halls, chambers, chapel, and

kitchen, (many of which were burnt, and others ruinous, unroofed, and fallen down,) was now entirely restored, repaired, and fully amended.

‘ All the herbaries, vineries, and gardens, (both within the Palace and the Tower,) were propped or trelliced, turfed, cleaned, and repaired. All the gutters and aqueducts, also, extending from the Thames to the kitchens and wardrobes of the Palace, for carrying off waste water, and which were obstructed and choked up, were now entirely laid open, cleared, and fully amended.

‘ All the *stew-ponds*,—“*vivariis*,”—of the palace were scoured, cleansed, and repaired, prior to the coronation; and all the private wardrobes of the king and queen, and other persons of distinction,—“*magnates*,”—were emptied and cleansed. The chambers of the clerk of the king’s privy seal, near the king’s bridge on the Thames, and one low chamber under the same, which is for the clerk of the kitchen, together with two chimneys and two wardrobes, were all constructed anew. The dilapidated houses of the king’s chaplains and clerks of the chapel, were also new-roofed, supported, and amended.

‘ The *almonry* of the king and queen, which was unroofed and otherwise dilapidated in many parts, was fully repaired, and new roofed. The chambers which are now appropriated to the use of the keeper of the king’s wardrobe, were newly made, with their chimneys, wardrobes, and other conveniences.

‘ The old *plumber’s-shop*,—“*plumbaria*,”—for the works of the palace, which was so decayed as to be no longer of use, was in a great measure newly constructed and restored for the new operations, together with a well,—“*uno puteo*,”—and an earthen chimney.

‘ All the houses and chambers for the service of the pri-



vate panterers and butlers of the king and queen, of the tailors, the apothecaries, the water-bearers, the chandlers, &c. were fully repaired, and many of them constructed anew and rebuilt.

‘ The houses near the kitchen, within the court—“*curia*”—of the Archbishop of York, for scalding, salting, and the scullery, were newly erected; together with other houses for the convenience and use of the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, in the palace which the late king, after the combustion of his [former] palace, had built at his own cost within the court of the aforesaid archbishop.

‘ A storehouse,—“*una storhus*,”—consisting of divers houses and chambers for the operations above mentioned, was erected within the hostelry of the palace, by the advice and ordination of the treasurer and chamberlain;—and mem. that these houses were first raised near the [south] door of the great hall, for a pantry against the coronation, and afterwards removed by order of the king, because they obstructed the light at the entrance of the great chamber of requests.

‘ Of the reparation, emendation, and painting of the *Great Hall*, against the coronation.—The roof, which on either side was dilapidated and decayed, was now in some measure amended; and the great exchequer [chamber] was repaired and amended in like manner.

‘ The king’s *White Chamber*, which extends from the king’s green chamber to the queen’s bridge on the Thames, together with other chambers, chimneys, wardrobes, passages, &c. were by the king’s own direction distinguished by a diversity of coping.

‘ The *Ship* called the *Margaret of Westminster* was repaired and variously amended. The hatches were newly made—“*hecchiata de novo*”—and the forecastle, hindcastle,—“*hyndcastell*,”—and topcastle, were repaired; and divers conveniences, as pantries, butleries, wardrobes, &c. were constructed within

the same,—“*in div'sis int' claustris*,”—by the precept and devise of the king himself. The vessel was afterwards cleansed both within and without, and the two large chests, or armories, were secured with bolts, keys, and other iron apparatus.—Mem. This ship, with her boats and barges, was thus cleansed and repaired, because the king had destined her for his voyage to France, to celebrate his nuptials with Isabella, daughter of the King of France; and then, that the Queen Isabella might come to England in the same ship.

‘The common bench and the exchequer were ordained to be held in the Abbey of Westminster, whilst the great works [at the palace] were in progress; and divers houses within the abbey were roofed, repaired, and amended for those purposes, by order of the treasurer and barons, on account of the impediments and disturbances occasioned by the works, —“*p'pt' impedimenta et p'turbac'oes op'ac'onu'.*”

The following particulars relating to the preparations for the coronation of Edward the Second, are entered on the back — “*in dorso*” — of the Roll from which the preceding memoranda were derived.

‘Of the *halls* constructed within the palace against the coronation of the king, and extending throughout its whole length and breadth, viz.

‘One long hall was erected of the entire length of the upper wall of the palace, reaching along the Thames, for the judgments and solemnities of the treasurer and barons [of the exchequer], and the great men and councillors. This hall was appropriated for the royal seat on the day of the coronation, and it was therefore ordered, that it should be covered with boards “*de sago*,” and strongly supported at the back along its entire length, on account of the pressure of the people.

‘Fourteen other halls were afterwards made, extending in length from that just mentioned, towards the great door of

the palace, approaching as nearly as possible to the door without impeding the entrance and exit of the people and the men at arms. In these halls divers partitions were made for pantries, butleries, dressers, &c. with lattices before the partitions.—Three *conduits* were ordained to be running continually with red and white wine, and with piment,\*—“*pyamento*”—in the centre of these halls, that every one might come and drink at pleasure.

‘ Of the providing and storing forms, trestles, and tables against the coronation.—Mem. That all the houses and all the halls in the Palace, and many houses within the precincts of the Abbey, were prepared, and, as it were, filled with tables.

‘ Barriers, palisades, lattices, and other defences, were constructed before the door of the great monastery in which the king was crowned, and in the same manner before each of the doors of the palace, and also before various places within and without the palace, which were assigned for pantries, butleries, cooking-rooms, sculleries, larders, and poultries, and for divers other offices.

‘ Forty furnaces were fixed in the palace against the conclusion of the coronation; and divers ovens were made within it against the coronation, namely, in the bakehouse and saltsary.

‘ Divers breaches were made (and afterwards repaired) in the walls of the palace, for entrances and exits to various offices, namely pantries, butleries, larders, and rooms for poultry, and divers other necessities provided, which had been lodged and deposited within the cemetery (and near the cemetery) of the monastery, by the palace. Divers lattices were also constructed before the said entrances, and closed and interclosed between and about those arrangements.

\* Piment was wine mixed with spice and sweetened with honey. Chaucer, in his *Miller's Tale*, says, “ He sent her piment, methe, and spiced ale.”



‘ Of the regal seat ordained and constructed in the monastery, in the middle of the choir, in which the king and queen were crowned.—The platform for the seats was wain-scotted about, and so much elevated that men-at-arms, namely, earls, barons, knights, and other nobles, might ride under the same; and mem. divers stairs and passages were made for ascending and descending the same.’

From the following remarks, which are entered on the same Roll, it is evident that the preceding account is only a condensed abstract from a much fuller record, that had been subjected to examination in order to verify its correctness.

‘ First, it is to be noticed that this Roll is called the account of Nicholas de Tikehulle and John de Norton; and also, that there is no commission, nor brief, under the great or the privy seal, nor of the treasurer; wherefore the exact time of the commencement of the computation is doubtful. Also, that the old timber from the old houses taken down and rebuilt is not accounted for, nor yet the remaining timber saved from the scaffolds.

‘ The charges made for cleansing and repairing the *stews* — “*vivarior*,” (fish-ponds)—and for fish purchased to feed the pikes — “*lupor*’ *aqaticor*,” (water-wolves) — in those stews, and for barrels bought “*p’ viridi succo*,” do not appear to pertain to the works of the palace.

‘ Of the iron, steel, glass, and various other articles purchased wholesale, where it is said that 1,000 lbs., or 100 lbs., of iron, steel, glass, &c. were bought for so much, it is not specified in what houses, or for what doors, windows, or places, those articles were used.

‘ Also, of certain wages reckoned as paid to Nicholas de Leddrede and Richard Bedell, the supervisors for the purchase of timber, stone, and other things pertaining to the office of Nicholas de Tikehulle and John de Norton [no

particulars are given].—The repair of the ship, and the operations connected with it, may also be considered as not pertaining to the works of the palace.’

There are a few other entries on the same Roll, but as they are of no importance to our present research, we forbear to record them.

From various other accounts preserved in the office of the King’s Remembrancer, it appears that the following sums were expended on the palatial buildings in materials and wages, from the 5th to the 13th years (inclusive) of the reign of Edward the Second; namely, in the 5th year, £53. 14s. 2½*d.*; 6th year, £88. 4s. 3*d.*; 7th year, £88. 19s. 6½*d.*; 8th year, *non comp.*; 9th year, £65. 12s. 3¼*d.*; 10th year, £53. 9s. 2*d.*; 11th year, £87. 15s. 4¾*d.*; 12th year, £11. 9s. 1½*d.*; and 13th year, £25. 4s. 5*d.* Of the Roll for the latter year (anno 1319), we shall here insert a translated abstract, as it tends to shew that the restoration of St. Stephen’s chapel was actually *commenced* by Edward the Second, although the entire credit of the work has been hitherto awarded to his successor.

‘ Michaelmas, 13th year of Edward II.—Account of John de Norton, Clerk of Receipts of Money for the Works of the Palace of Westminster, and of the expenditures, by the survey and testimony of John de Vyene, Clerk appointed for that purpose by the Commissioners of the Exchequer, in the 13th year of King Edward the son of King Edward.

‘ To John de Radewelle, mason, for work about the arch buttress of Marculf’s chamber, which buttress was weak and defective, and on the point of falling down, through the flowing and inundation of the Thames; and about divers defects existing in the walls of the Painted Chamber; also about various defects near to and in the

- gallery and passages of the *new chapel of St. Stephen*; and likewise about various defects in the foundation of a certain penthouse, near the white chamber towards the Thames; and about divers other defects in various places within the palace:—from Oct. 1st to Nov. 20th, namely, for thirty-five working days, receiving the money by his own hands at various times, namely, at the end of each week, for the week, (at sixpence per day) . 17s. 6d.
- ‘ To John Est, mason, working about the same; for twenty-seven working days, receiving the money by his own hands, at various times, namely, at the end of each week, for the week . . . . . 13s. 6d.
- ‘ To John le Rok, carpenter, working about a certain penthouse, newly constructed over the stones wrought—“*entalliatas*”—for the chapel of St. Stephen, for the protection of those stones; and also about a certain penthouse and covering newly made *ult’ viciu’*\* of the new chapel of St. Stephen; and about repairing and amending the roof of the great hall, and cutting shingles for that roof; and about amending a certain gutter in the chamber which is for the use of the king’s chaplains and clerks:—for forty-two working days (at sixpence per day) computed from the 1st of October aforesaid, receiving the money by his own hands at divers times, &c. . . . . 21s.
- ‘ To Richard de Cruland, carpenter, working about the same, for twenty-three working days, (at five pence per day,) within the same time, receiving the money, &c. . 9s. 7d.

\* In Papendiek’s “Synopsis of Architecture,” a *vice* is stated to be “a spiral geometrical staircase, conducting to the tower or steeple of a church, or to the upper stories of an ancient castellated mansion.” The phrase “*ultra vicium nove Capelle*,” will therefore imply, ‘beyond (or above, for in the latter sense the word *ultra* is occasionally used in the record) the staircase of the New Chapel.’



- ‘ To John Sewale, carpenter, working about the same, for twenty-three working days, (at five pence per day,) within the same period, receiving the money, &c. . . . 9s. 7d.
- ‘ To William le Bere, carpenter, working about the same, for five working days, (at five pence per day,) within the same period, receiving the money at Westminster . . . 2s. 1d.
- ‘ To Gilbert de Westminster, plumber, working about the roof of the pantry of the little hall, covering it with lead, and about various defects in the roof of the little hall, and in some of the gutters and roofs within the palace:—for thirty-eight days and a half, (at sixpence per day,) within the above time, receiving the money, &c. . . . 19s. 3d.
- ‘ To Semannus de Estwelle, plumber, working about the same, for twenty-four days and a half, (at sixpence per day,) within the same time, receiving, &c. . . . 12s. 3d.
- ‘ To Adam de Winchester, plumber, working about the covering, repairing, and amending the roof of the little hall, for eighteen days, (at eightpence per day,) within the same time, receiving, &c. . . . 12s.
- ‘ To John Valet, plumber, working about the repair and amendment of the roof of the little hall, for six days (at eightpence per day), receiving, &c. . . . 4s.
- ‘ To Ralph le Dikere, tiler, working about the covering of the roof of the chapel of St. Stephen,—“*circa coop’turam comblie capelle S’c’i Steph’i*,”—near the Receipt [of the Exchequer], about the larder, and about various other defects existing in divers places within the palace, for forty-six days, (at five pence per day,) receiving, &c. 19s. 2d.
- ‘ To John le Tuler, tiler, working about that penthouse which is for the lodging of the masons in the hostelry,—“*in astellaria*,”—and about that penthouse which is beyond the *vice* above the slating of the new chapel towards the little hall, about the chandlery, and about various other defects in

- different houses within the palace, for seventeen days, (at five pence per day,) within the same time . . . 7s. 1d.
- ‘ To Adam Sclow, mason’s assistant, for twelve days, within the same time, (at three pence halfpenny per day,) receiving, &c. . . . . 3s. 6d.
- ‘ To John de Pabenharn, mason’s assistant, for 23 days, within the said time, (at three pence per day,) receiving, &c. . . . . 5s. 9d.
- ‘ To John Dust, plumber’s assistant, for forty-four days, (at two pence halfpenny per day,) receiving, &c. . . . 9s. 2d.
- ‘ To William Golif, tiler’s assistant, for forty days, (at two pence halfpenny per day,) receiving, &c. . . . 8s. 4d.
- ‘ To Thomas Prat, tiler’s assistant, (for eight days,) at two pence halfpenny per day,) within the said time, receiving, &c. . . . . 20d.
- ‘ To John Sheil, tiler’s assistant, for seventeen days 3s. 6d.
- ‘ To Richard Valet, plumber’s assistant, for seventeen days, receiving, &c. . . . . 3s. 6d.
- ‘ To John de Westwik, carrier, appointed to carry and distribute “*tendulas de astellaria*,” and various other places, even to the roof of the great hall, for the carpenters, for ten days, (at two pence halfpenny per day,) receiving &c. . . . . 2s. 1d.
- ‘ To John Sheil, “*torchiator*,”\* working about various walls in the great stables, and in divers other places within the palace, repairing and amending, for six days, (at three pence halfpenny per day, receiving, &c. . . . 21d.
- ‘ To John de Kinstebregge, assistant “*torchiator*,” for six days, (at two pence halfpenny per day,) receiving, &c. 15d.

\* Probably *plasterer*; from the French word *torchis*, signifying a kind of coarse mortar, composed of clay mixed with straw.

- ‘ To Peter de Skerbek, for 18 lb. of tin, bought by him for  
 solder for the plumbers before mentioned, at 2*d.* per lb. 3*s.*  
 ‘ To the same, for one quartern of large wood, for the  
 plumber’s work . . . . . 21*d.*  
 ‘ To the same, for one bushel and a half of charcoal, for the  
 said plumbers’ work . . . . . 2½*d.*  
 ‘ To the same, for one quartern of tallow . . . . . ½*d.*  
 ‘ To the same Peter de Skyrbek, for 50 blocks of Caen stone,  
 and also for long blocks of Aylesford stone, selected  
 and wrought for the arch buttress of Marculf’s chamber,  
 which buttress stands in the Thames; and for stone to  
 repair other defects in the wall of the palace, caused by  
 the inundations of the Thames, by him purchased in large  
 quantity, 20*s.* 4*d.*; for portage and carriage of those stones  
 from London to the king’s bridge at Westminster, and  
 then from the king’s bridge to the palace, to be there  
 wrought; and their carriage again from the palace to the  
 bridge, 2*s.* 10*d.* For 2,000 nails for shingles for the great  
 hall, at 16*d.* per thousand . . . . . 2*s.* 8*d.*  
 ‘ For 3,000 nails for laths, at 10*d.* per thousand . . . . . 2*s.* 6*d.*  
 ‘ For 200 spike nails, at 4*d.* per 100 . . . . . 8*d.*  
     1 cwt. of lime, from various lime-burners . . . . . 4*s.*  
     60 lbs. of pitch, bought for making cement, for the  
     gutter of Marculf’s chamber . . . . . 3*s.*  
     100 of Flanders tiles, to be pulverized for making the  
     same cement . . . . . 12*d.*  
     3 yellow dishes, bought at different times to make the  
     cement in, at 2*d.* each . . . . . 6*d.*  
     12 cart-loads of sand, at 1*d.* per load . . . . . 12*d.*  
 ‘ To William Heiward, of Croydon, for 42 feet of timber,  
 bought of him . . . . . 26*s.* 8*d.*  
 ‘ To John Robert, of Croydon, for 16 feet of timber, bought  
 of him, and valued altogether . . . . . 6*s.* 8*d.*



- ‘ To Rich. Atte Hurve, for 16 feet of timber, bought of him,  
and valued altogether . . . . . 6s. 11d.
- ‘ Mem. This timber was bought to make a penthouse to cover  
and protect the freestone wrought for the chapel of St.  
Stephen; and for other repairs.
- ‘ To John Robert, for 1,000 laths, bought of him, for the said  
penthouse . . . . . 4s.
- ‘ For one quartern—“*quartrano*”—of large wood, for the  
plumbers’ work . . . . . 21d.
- ‘ For one bushel of charcoal, bought for the plumbers, for  
soldering [the lead of] various roofs . . . . . 1½d.
- ‘ For two “*bolliis*” [bowls?] for the use of the masons and  
tilers . . . . . 5d.
- ‘ Amount of this part of the Roll £13. 17s. 6d.

On the back of the Roll is an account of various payments for wages to workmen, amounting in all to £11. 6s. 5½d.

That the whole of what has been ascertained respecting the works executed at the Palace in Edward the Second’s reign, may be brought into connection, we shall here insert an abstract from the *Chancellor’s Roll* of the 1st year of Edward the Third, which is now deposited among the “Additional Manuscripts” in the British Museum. It includes the following particulars of the operations at Westminster, from the 16th of November, 1324, to the 16th of March, 1327; that is, from the 17th year of Edward the Second to the 1st year of his successor. It commences thus :

- ‘ The Account of William de Chayllowe, Surveyor of the  
King’s Works in the Tower of London and Palace of  
Westminster, of all his receipts, and of the payments  
and disbursements by him made, as well for the works  
of the *New Chapel* within the Palace, as for the repair  
of other houses within the said Palace and Tower, &c.

from the 16th of November, in the 17th year of Edward II., until the feast of St. Michael in the 19th year.

‘The total amount received for the above-mentioned works, between the 16th of November, in the 17th year, and the feast of St. Michael next following, was £879. 13s. 4d.; whereof was expended at the Palace of Westminster, for timber, boards, laths, &c. for the repair of divers houses there, together with a house of the king’s chaplains, and another house newly built for the queen’s butlery and saltsary, £16. 17s. In ragstone, bought for the same, 22s. 6d. In iron-work, £8. 7s. 2d. In glass for the windows, 45s. 11½d. For plaster of Paris and wood to burn it, 38s. 8d. For tiles and lime, £9. 6s. 2½d. For repairing the benches and tables in the great hall, and the other houses, against the feast of Pentecost, 44s. 9d. For the wages of masons, carpenters, smiths, and others, £39. 9s. 9¾d.—*The Chapel of the Palace*: for timber bought as well at Tonbridge as elsewhere, for the said chapel, £17. 9s. 11½d. For stone, as well of Caen as of ‘Ryegate’ and ‘Eylesford,’ £144. 15s. 7d. For lime, &c. £9. 7s. 10d. For iron and steel, £8. 7s. 8d. For coal, 34s. For reeds to cover the stone and timber, 2s. 6d. For the conveyance of materials, £33. 1s. 9½d. For the wages of workmen, £329. 19s. 6¾d.

‘The total amount received for the works, &c. between Michaelmas in the 18th of Edward II., and the Michaelmas in his 19th year, was £1,179. 5s.; whereof was expended for the Palace at Westminster, in timber, £16. 19s. 6d. In tiles, lime, &c. £7. 6s. 8d. In iron work, £14. 4s. 11d. In lead and tin, and for the wages of plumbers, £158. 15s. 10d. In glass, 65s. 7d. And in other ways, as for plaster of Paris, expenses of raising timber, wages, &c. a total of £256. 12s. 5¾d.

‘For the *Chapel* of the palace, with the new *alur*.—For timber for the new *alur*’ (*cloister*), between the king’s cham-

ber and the said chapel, for stone, as well of Caen as of Ryegate, for lime, sand, iron, coals, plaster of Paris, carriage of materials, and for wages, in all £376. 5s.  $\frac{3}{4}d$ .

‘ From Michaelmas, in the 19th year of Edward II. to Michaelmas in his 20th year. Palace at Westminster:—Expended for timber for the new house between the old Exchequer and the inner gate of the palace, £14. 14s.  $5\frac{1}{2}d$ . For freestone, Caen-stone, Ryegate, and Aylesford stone, £19. 6s.  $\frac{1}{4}d$ .; and for lime, sand, plaster of Paris, iron, tiles, lead, tin, glass, and other necessary materials, and for carriage, and the wages of workmen, divers other sums, amounting, with those just specified, to £206. 13s.  $1\frac{1}{2}d$ . For the *Chapel*:—in timber, stone, lime, sand, iron, coal, in lead to cover the new *alure* and in carriage of materials, and the wages of workmen, £153. 3s.  $4\frac{1}{2}d$ .

‘ From Michaelmas, in the 20th year of Edward II. to the 16th March, in the 1st year of Edward III.—For timber for the new house within the Palace at Westminster, for stone, sand, lime, &c. for carriage, and the wages of workmen, for lead and tin for the houses, and the pipe of the conduit, for tiles, for timber for the great engine, “*magnum ingenium*,” and the house newly made under the wall, towards the east, &c. divers sums, amounting to £407. 13s.  $3\frac{1}{2}d$ .

The following instances (among others) of infringement on the privileges of the Palace, in the reign of Edward the Second, with the awards made in each case, are derived from the *Placita* and other rolls.

In the King’s second year, Alice, the daughter of Nicholas le Ken, was summoned to answer the complaint of Walter de Bedewynde, the Remembrancer of the Exchequer, who had accused her of reviling him, by calling him ‘a thief, seducer, and other opprobrious names,’ in the *great hall* at Westminster, and elsewhere within the King’s Palace there,



and which she denied. A jury of the court, and of persons dwelling near the palace, was consequently impannelled; and having found that the insult was given "upon the *King's Bridge* of his palace at Westminster," they awarded damages to the amount of forty pounds.

In the sixth year of Edward II., a court of the palace for pleas of the Crown—"Placita aulæ domini Regis de Corona"—was held at Westminster, before Hugh de Audley, steward and marshal of the king's household, when John de Redinges was arraigned for counterfeiting the king's privy seal; but he alleged that he had purchased it of Edmund de Malo Lacu, the former steward, (who was also before the court,) for forty talents of gold, and judgment was in consequence given against the latter.\*

On the eve of Ascension day, in the 8th of Edward II. (anno 1315,) Thomas de Gerdestan, Archdeacon of Norfolk, and one of his officers, were impleaded before the king and his council, then sitting in parliament at Westminster, for that they, on the eighth of March preceding,—the king being then in his palace and holding his parliament,—did cite Joan de Barr, Countess of Warenne, she being then in attendance on the queen consort in the *chapel* of the said palace, to appear in the church of St. Nicholas of Braheden, to make answer to Maud de Nerford, in a cause of divorce between her and John Earl of Warenne. The fact having been proved, the archdeacon and his officer were committed to the Tower.†

In the same year, on the 14th of May, a writ was addressed to William de Leyre and Richard Abbot, stating that

\* Vide "Additional Manuscripts" in the British Museum, Ayscough's Catalogue, No. 4,486, fo. 52.

† Vide Ryley's "Placita Parliamentaria," p. 543; and "Cal. Rot. Patentium," p. 75, 6: edit. 1802.

the *pavement* between Temple Bar and the gate of the king's palace at Westminster, was so broken and injured, that it was a great nuisance to those frequenting the court, and very perilous both for horsemen and foot passengers; and that a petition had been preferred to the king and council, praying them to provide a remedy for the same. The said William and Richard were, consequently, commanded to cause the said pavement to be repaired, and to distrain for the expense 'pro rata,' upon all persons having houses adjacent to it, between the said Bar and the Palace.\*

Edward II. like other weak monarchs, was governed by unprincipled favourites; and the perpetual troubles, and disastrous termination of his reign, must be attributed to that circumstance. Although he had been compelled to banish Gaveston, as before related, he could not endure the deprivation of his society, and soon made arrangements for his recall. Among other measures, he secretly procured from the court of Rome a dispensation to free his minion from the consequences of his oath of never returning into England; and Gaveston had no sooner come back, than he received him with open arms, and loaded him with new honours.† But neither Edward nor his favourite were capable of deriving wisdom from past experience. "The reign of dissipation," as Dr. Lingard has remarked, "was instantly recommenced: the Court became a perpetual scene of feasting, dancing, and merriment; and Gaveston, in the possession of his former ascendancy, indulged in his accustomed

\* Vide "Rot. Parl." vol. I. p. 302; and "Additional Manuscripts," in Brit. Museum, No. 4577, art. 92.

† The infatuation of the king became so extreme, according to Walsingham, that he was heard to say, "if his power was equal to his affection, he would set the crown on Gaveston's head."

extravagance, and irritated his enemies by his pleasantries and his sarcasms.”\*

The insulting conduct of Gaveston, conjoined with the disordered state of public affairs, determined the barons to place the acts of government under a more efficient control; and an opportunity to effect that purpose was afforded them in a Parliament which met at Westminster, about the end of February, 1309-10, on which occasion, in despite of the royal prohibition, the barons and their retainers assembled *in arms*. Gaveston had prudently withdrawn; but the king was constrained to issue his letters patent, dated at Westminster, on the 16th of March, stating that he had granted authority to the earls, barons, and prelates of his kingdom, to nominate certain of their own number and others, to form a committee, which should have power to regulate the royal household, and redress the grievances of the nation.

The committee appointed under this authority, consisted of seven prelates, eight earls, and six barons, who by the

\* The reckless prodigality with which he proceeded to dissipate, or embezzle, the royal treasures, distinctly appears from the statements of contemporary writers. The Old Chronicle in Peter College, Oxford, (vide Lelandi Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 473) states that “Gaveston conveyed the table and trestles [trestles] of gold from the *tresory of Westminster*, and delivered them to one Armoir of Frisconbaude, to be carried to Gascoyn:”—and Walter Hemingford estimates the treasure which he sent abroad at the value of £100,000, besides gold and precious stones. Aimeric de Friscobaldi belonged to a mercantile company at Florence, and he appears to have acted as banker to the court of Edward II. In a wardrobe account of the fourth year of that monarch, in the British Museum, (vide Cotton. MS. Nero, C. viii. f. 46.) is the specification of a debt of £3829. 17s. as being owing to this Italian for monies advanced to the king in the months of August and September in that year, and for which Friscobaldi had a bill under the seal of Ingelard de Warle, Keeper of the King’s Wardrobe. It appears even, that the customs of England were some time farmed by the Company of the Friscobaldi.



name of *Ordainers*, were immediately sworn faithfully to discharge their office. In the first articles which they presented to the king, there was nothing inserted respecting Gaveston; but as he afterwards rejoined the king on his route into Scotland, and was even invested by him with new powers, they proceeded to frame a code of Ordinances, more especially adapted to the circumstances of the state, by which the favourite was adjudged to be for ever banished from the dominions of the English crown, under penalty of death, as being one “who had given bad advice to the king, embezzled the public money, formed an association of men sworn to live and die with him against all others, estranged the affections of the sovereign from his liege subjects, and, for his own purposes, obtained blank charters with the royal seal affixed to them.\*

Among the other important articles of the new Ordinances were those which enjoined,—that the king should not leave the kingdom, nor levy war, without the consent of the baronage in Parliament;—that all purveyances, except such as were ancient and lawful, should cease; and that every one presuming to take any other might be pursued with hue and cry, and punished like robbers;—that the new taxes on wool, cloth, and other merchandize should be abolished;—that all the great officers of the crown, the wardens of the cinque ports, &c. should be chosen with the advice and assent of the baronage in Parliament;—and that, to prevent delay in the administration of justice, *Parliaments* should be holden at least *once every year*, or *twice* if need be, and in a conve-

\* Vide “Ordenances faites à Londres, 5 Edw. II. touchant l’etat de seon houstel et de seon realme: cu’ Ordinationibus,” &c. Walsingham, “Hist. Angliæ,” p. 78, edit. 1574; and Rymer’s “Foedera,” vol. ii. pp. 232, 233. edit. 1818.

nient place. From the general tenor of the Ordinances, however, it would seem that the authority of the Parliament was at that period supposed to reside in the baronage.\*

At the time appointed for Gaveston's final departure from England, viz. Nov. 1st, 1311, he and the king separated with tears; but the latter being unable to live without his favourite, allowed him to return clandestinely into Cornwall, intending to rejoin him when opportunity served. This had no sooner come to the knowledge of the *Ordainers*, than they caused a mandate to be issued (bearing date on the 28th of November, and tested by Edward himself, at *Westminster*,) for Gaveston's apprehension; but he eluded whatever search might have been made for him, and the king joined him at York early in January, 1311-12. The king had previously dissolved the Parliament, and spent his Christmas at Westminster; which latter fact is substantiated by a Wardrobe account of the fifth year of his reign, now in the British Museum, and from which the following information has been derived.†

‘ Paid to the King, for the privy expenses of his chamber at Westminster, by the hands of William de Tholouse, and placed to the account of the said William, by special command of the King . . . . . £100

“ December 24th.—Delivered to the King to play at Dice, on the Eve of the Nativity at Westminster . . . . . 100s.

“ December 25th.—In alms given at the Mass celebrated in the King's presence in the Conventual Church at Westminster . . . . . 9s. 4d.

\* “The Commons,” says Dr. Lingard, “had nothing to do but to present petitions and to grant money.”—Vide “History of England,” vol. ii. p. 497, note 14.

† Vide Cotton. MS. Nero C. viii. folios 50, 53, and 141.

- ‘ Paid to William le Balance, of Soper’s Lane, for cleaning and repairing broken Balances used for weighing money in the King’s Wardrobe . . . . . 2s.
- ‘ November 23d.—Paid to John Freyr, *Panetrarius Reginae*, for money expended by him for repairing Knives for the Queen’s table . . . . . 13d.
- ‘ November 26th.—Paid to John de Chat, for repairing of tubs (*cuvarum*) for the Queen’s Baths at Westminster. 20d.
- ‘ November 29th.—In alms given at the Mass celebrated in the Conventual Church at Westminster, for the soul of Queen Eleanor, the King’s mother . . . . . 4s. 11d.
- ‘ On the same day, in Offerings made by the Queen at the shrine of St. Edward, in the aforesaid Church, and at divers reliques in the said Church . . . . . 14s.
- ‘ December 1st.—To Richard Andrewe, for cutting two Cloths to cover the Beds of the Queen’s Maidens (*Domicellæ*) at Westminster . . . . . 3s.
- ‘ Paid to William *Tonsorius*, of London, for cutting ten Cloths of divers colours, for the Queen’s person, at Westminster . . . . . 20s.

A few days after Edward had rejoined his favourite at York, a royal proclamation was published there, stating that Gaveston was a true and loyal subject, and had returned into England in obedience to the king’s orders; and in the month following (February 24th), Edward, by a new grant, restored to him all his former estates and honours. Gaveston’s insolence increased with the return of his prosperity, and he even dared to speak insultingly to the queen. The barons being more aggrieved than ever at his pride and audacity, formed a new confederation against him, and assembling their retainers in arms, under the pretence of a tournament, proceeded towards the north. The king suspecting their intent, retired to Newcastle, and afterwards to Tynemouth



and Scarborough. Leaving his favourite in the strong castle at the latter place, for greater security, he then repaired to York, and unfurled the royal banner. Meanwhile, the confederates besieged Gaveston, and after some negotiations, to which the king was a party, constrained him to surrender, his life being ensured by the terms of the capitulation. But the "Black Dog of Arderne," as Gaveston had nicknamed the Earl of Warwick, had sworn "that he should feel his teeth," and conveying him to Warwick Castle, it was there resolved by the confederate chiefs, that he should be put to death, in conformity with the Ordinances before stated. He was accordingly beheaded on the 19th of June, on Black Lowe Hill, near Warwick.

This extra-judicial execution most grievously afflicted the king, and he vowed a severe revenge; but the barons being ever on their guard, he was at length induced to consent to a treaty of reconciliation. Various obstacles, however, and especially a well-founded distrust of the king's sincerity, prevented the completion of an agreement until the autumn of 1313, when, in a parliament held at Westminster,\* an act of general amnesty was passed: particular pardons were also granted by the king to nearly five hundred nobles and other persons who had been engaged in the confederacy against Gaveston. On the 16th of October, before the parliament broke up, Edward appeared seated upon his throne in *Westminster Hall*, where, in sight of the assembled people, the

\* On the Close Rolls, 6th of Edw. II. m. 2, are precepts to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, and Hertford, Surrey and Sussex, Bedford and Bucks, Northampton, and Oxford and Berks, ordering them to send in certain quantities of wheat, malt, oats, oxen, sheep, and hogs, for the use of the *king's household*, at Westminster, during the parliament which he had summoned to meet there on the quindene of the nativity of St. John the Baptist.—Vide "*De Expensis Hospitii Regis in Parlamento.*" *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 218.

barons kneeling submissively, expressed their sorrow at having offended the king, and acknowledged his clemency with thankfulness.\*

Notwithstanding the accordance which the king and his barons had so lately and so solemnly made, no lasting friendship sprang up between them. Thoughts of revenge still rankled in Edward's bosom, and his continual infractions of the Ordinances gave new offence to the nobles who had framed them. The people suffered grievously from these dissensions, and a direful famine, bringing disease and pestilence in its train, swelled the calamities of the nation to the utmost degree of horror. The most loathsome reptiles were used for food, man preyed upon man, and instances are recorded of parents assuaging their hunger on the dead bodies of their own children! In the hope of arresting the scourge, a maximum on the price of provisions was fixed by the parliament, which met at Westminster on the 20th of January, 1314-15;† but

\* From a letter of Edw. II. to the Pope, dated Westminster, May 16, 1313, it appears that Robert de Cisterne, clerk, was at that time the king's physician. The king expresses the highest confidence in the skill of his medical attendant; "qui (dicit Rex) complexionem nostram, ac corporis nostri statum, præ omnibus aliis novit diligenter;" and he applies to the Pope to grant a dispensation to R. de Cisterne to hold a prebend in the collegiate church of Wingham, notwithstanding his attendance on the king might prevent his performing his clerical duties.—Vide "Foedera," vol. ii. p. 215, edit. 1818.

† From various writs "de Expensis" (tested at Westminster, which are still extant,) it appears that the "knights of the shire" in this parliament were each allowed four shillings *per diem*, together with their respective charges in coming and returning. The prices fixed on the various articles of provision were as follow:—For the best ox not fed with grain, 16s. and no more; but if fed on corn and made fat, 24s.: the best live fat cow, 12s.: a fat hog, of two years old, 3s. 4d.: a fat sheep, unshorn, 20d.; but if shorn, 14d.: a fat goose, 3d.: a good and fat capon, 2½d.: a fat hen, 1½d.: two pullets, 1½d.: three pigeons, 1d.: twenty eggs, 1d. Those persons who refused to sell those things at the above prices, were to forfeit them to the king.—Vide "Foedera," vol. ii. p. 203: edit. 1818.

this restriction only increased the scarcity, and the statute was repealed in another parliament that assembled at Lincoln at the beginning of the following year. The price of every article of subsistence rose enormously; and the king, at the suggestion of the citizens of London, suspended the breweries, as a measure “without which, not only the indigent but the middle classes must inevitably have perished through want of food.” At times it became difficult to procure bread even for the royal household.

Walsingham records the following singular occurrence, as having taken place within Westminster Hall, at Whitsuntide 1317:—“This year the king celebrated the feast of Pentecost in the *Great Hall* at Westminster, where as he sat in the royal seat at table, in the presence of the great men of his kingdom, there entered a woman adorned with a theatrical dress, sitting on a fine horse with corresponding trappings, who, after the manner of players, made a circuit round the tables, and at length ascended the steps to the table of the king, and laid before him a certain letter; then reining back her steed, and saluting the guests, she retired as she came. The king had the letter opened that he might know its contents, which were as follow:—‘His lordship the king shows little courtly consideration for his knights, who, in his father’s time and in his own, have exposed themselves to various dangers, and have spent or diminished their substance in their service; while others who have not borne the weight of business, [*alios qui pondus negotii nondum portaverant*] have been abundantly enriched!’ When these things were heard, the guests looking one upon another, wondered at the boldness of the woman, and the porters or door-keepers were blamed for having suffered her to enter; but they excused themselves, answering that it was not the custom at the royal palace [*domus regie*] in any way to prohibit the entrance of



players, [*histriones*,] especially at solemn festivals. Persons were then sent after the woman, who was easily found, taken, and committed to prison; and being required to tell why she had acted in such a manner, she truly replied that she had been induced to do it by a certain knight, for a proper reward [*mercede condigna*]. The knight being sent for, and brought before the king, in reply to inquiries, nothing fearing, boldly confessed himself the author of the letter, and avowed that he had consulted the king's honour in what he had done. Therefore the knight by his constancy rendered himself deserving of the king's favour, with abundant gifts; and the woman was released from prison."\*

We learn from the "*Originalia*," that in the 13th year of Edward II., the king appointed John de Ditton clerk and keeper of his works in the Palace of Westminster, and at the Tower of London.

It appears from a Wardrobe account of the 18th of the same reign, that on the 19th of August, 1325, the king, on his coming to Westminster, bestowed alms on the Friars of the city of London, of the following denominations, for their support for one day, viz:—sixty Friars of Mount Carmel, 4*d.* each; fifty Friars of the order of St. Augustin; sixty-four Friars Minors; seventy Friars Preachers; and sixteen Friars of the [Holy] Cross.†

All the latter years of Edward the Second's reign proved equally calamitous to the nation, as those which had preceded them; and much blood was spilt, both in the disastrous wars with Scotland, and in the king's contest with the barons,—many of whom perished on the scaffold. The Spencers, father and son, became the king's new favourites; the son, in particular, who, unwarned by the fate of Gaveston,

\* Walsingham "*Hist. Angliæ*," p. 85.

† Vide "*Proceedings*" of the Record Commissioners, p. 177.

governed the country with the like arrogance, and with a similar usurpation of the royal authority as his ill-fated predecessor had done. In the ensuing contention, the confederate barons were at first successful; and in a parliament which met at Westminster in August 1321, they intimidated the king, by filling the *Great Hall* with armed men, into signing a sentence of perpetual banishment against the Spencers, under pain of death should they ever return. Thomas, the potent Earl of Lancaster, and cousin to the king, was at the head of this confederacy, and he had also been a principal in the measures which had been pursued against Gaveston;—but in May 1322, by “the downward turn of fickle Fortune’s wheel,” his own fate was sealed. He had been taken in arms, and being arraigned before King Edward at Pontefract, was told that “it was useless to speak in extenuation of his offences,” and forthwith condemned to suffer as a traitor. That sentence, however, from his relationship to the king, was changed into decapitation, and he was beheaded on an eminence without the town. Sixteen other knights and nobles were executed about the same time. The Spencers were then recalled, and invested with new honours; and the famous *Ordinances* were almost wholly abrogated in a parliament assembled at York.

But the Lancastrian party was not extinct; and the barons, aggrieved and aggravated by the ostentation and misrule of the favourites, formed a new conspiracy; in which, eventually, the queen and prince Edward, her eldest son, became participators. To narrate the events which followed is the province of the general historian. It must suffice to state in these pages, that the queen, incensed at her husband’s conduct, contracted an adulterous intercourse with Roger Mortimer, (a potent baron of the Welsh marches, who had recently escaped from the Tower,) and by his aid, and the assistance of the

forces of the Count de Hainault, and of the people generally, who deserted the cause of their infatuated sovereign, the two Spencers were seized and executed, the king himself being made a prisoner, and consigned to the Earl of Leicester's castle of Kenilworth.

Of the occurrences which shortly followed, Walsingham has given the ensuing account, under the date of 1327 :—

“ Edward the Second being detained in captivity at Kenilworth, the queen and her son went to London at Epiphany, and were joyfully received by the people. All the nobility of the kingdom were summoned to meet in parliament on the morrow, when they decided that the king was unworthy of his crown, that he should be deposed, and his eldest son made king in his stead. This being done, the decision was publicly proclaimed in the Great Hall at Westminster; and all the people consented to it. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates approving, the former addressed a sermon to the people, taking for his text—*Vox populi, vox Dei*. The queen being informed of these proceedings, either was, or pretended to be, very much distressed at the fate of her husband. On which the young prince swore that he would not assume the crown without his father's permission. A deputation was therefore sent to Kenilworth, who returned with the formal abdication of the fallen monarch, and Edward III. was proclaimed king.\*”

\* Dr. Lingard, who takes a more unfavourable view of the deposition of the king than most other writers, says that on the day when that measure was proposed (January the 8th), in the parliament at Westminster, “ the *Hall* was filled with the most riotous of the citizens of London, whose shouts and menaces were heard in the room occupied by the parliament. Not a voice was raised in the king's favour. His greatest friends thought it a proof of courage to remain silent;—and the young Edward was declared king by acclamation, and presented in that capacity to the approbation of the populace.”—Vide “ *Hist. of England*,” vol. ii. p. 546.



Between the prison of a sovereign and the grave, it has been remarked, the interval is but short. It proved so with the deposed Edward. He was ignominiously conveyed from Kenilworth to Berkeley Castle, where he was most atrociously murdered on the 21st of September 1327. His corpse was privately interred in the Abbey Church of St. Peter at Gloucester; where a sumptuous monument was afterwards erected to his memory.\*

The following is a list of the different parliaments which were held at Westminster in the reign of Edward II., with the dates of their commencement. From the writs *de expensis*, (which were mostly tested at Westminster,) it appears that the knights of shires were in general paid 4*s. per diem* each for attendance, in addition to their charges in coming and returning; at some other times 3*s. 4d. per diem* was the sum paid, and in one instance 2*s. 6d.* only:—†

\* The following remarkable instances of the low diversions of Edward the Second, are derived from a communication made to the "Antiquarian Repertory," (vol. ii. p. 406, 407,) by the late Mr. Astle, of some entries from an authentic MS. in old French, relating (*inter alia*) to the private expenses of that sovereign.

Paid to the king himself, to play at cross and pile, [tossing up,] by the hands of Richard de Merewith, Receiver of the Treasury, . . . . . 12*d.*

Paid to Henry, the king's barber, for money which he lent to the king to play at cross and pile, . . . . . 5*s.*

Paid to Piers Barrard, usher of the king's chamber, for money which he lent to the king, and which he lost at cross and pile to Mons. Robt. Wattewylle, 8*d.*

Paid to James de St. Alban's, the king's painter, who danced on a table before the king and made him laugh heartily, being a gift by the king's own hands, in aid of him, his wife, and children, . . . . . 50*s.*

Paid at the lodge at Walmer, when the king was stag-hunting there, to Morris Ken, of the kitchen, because he rode before the king, and often fell from his horse, at which the king laughed heartily; a gift by command, 20*s.*

† Vide "Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs," vol. ii. division I. Calendar.

March . . . 3, 1308	April . . . 25, 1316*
April . . . 27, 1309	October . . . 6, 1320
November . 12, 1311	July . . . 15, 1321
February . . 13, 1312	January . . . 20, 1324
August . . . 20, 1312	February . . 23, 1324
March . . . 18, 1313	November . . 18, 1325
July . . . . 8, 1313	December . . 26, 1326
September . 23, 1313	Prorogued to
April . . . . 21, 1314	January . . . 7, 1327
January . . . 20, 1315	

The regnal year of Edward the Third commenced on the 25th of January 1327; on the 28th he received the great seal from the chancellor (Hotham, Bishop of Ely) at Westminster, and re-delivered it to the same person; and on the following Sunday, February the 1st, he was crowned in the neighbouring abbey church;—prior to which, writs were addressed to all sheriffs, commanding them to proclaim and preserve the king's peace in their respective jurisdictions.

Among the Rolls preserved in the Augmentation Office, is one intituled “*Contrarotulus Johannis de Feryby Contrarotulatoris Thomæ de Useflete Clerici Magnæ Garderobæ Regis, per eundem Regem et Concilium deputati, de diversis rebus emptis et expensis circa Coronacionem dicti Dom. Regis Edw. tercii a Conquestu, in Ecclesia beati Petri Westm’ et in Palacio ejusd. videlicet primo die Februarii, anno regni sui primo; ut patet infra.*†”

\* This appears to have been a special council, or convention, relating to the perambulations of the forests; and to have continued its sittings on the 2d, 9th, and 21st of May.

† Different dates have been assigned to the coronation-day of Edward III. Fabian and Hollinshed say it was on the day of the Purification of Our Lady, which is February the 2nd.; and Tindal, in his notes to Rapin, says it was on

This record consists of two sections; the first includes a statement of the articles, (chiefly different kinds of cloth, tapestry, &c.,) and their quantities and prices, used for fitting up the church and hall for the inauguration of the king; and the second section gives an account of the manner in which the articles were respectively appropriated.

The articles furnished by different persons include "pannus ad aurum," (cloth of gold,) "dyaspretum," (diapered cloth,) "aurifrigium in canabo," (linen worked with gold thread,) "velvettum," "samitellum," "pannus casatus," "pannus purpureus," "pannus taffetanus," "cindon" or "sindon," and "tapetum" (tapestry). The total expense of these articles was £1056. 19s. 3d.—The cost of the king's coronation *Gloves* was three shillings.

The second portion of the roll is more interesting, as affording notices of the manner in which the places appointed for the coronation ceremonies were fitted up and ornamented.

*' For the great Hall of Westminster.*

- ' Of cloth of Candlewick-street, for hangings and bancours—  
"ad Dorserium et Bankerium"—in the king's great hall  
at Westminster, on the day of his coronation, in the first  
year of the king, . . . . 7 cloths and 12 ells.
- ' The same day, of strong cloth for the king's halls, 60 ells.
- ' The same day, to be placed under the king's feet, passing  
with bare feet from his own station to the church, and  
from the church to his chamber, returning after the coro-  
nation, of strong cloth, . . . . 15 cloths.
- ' Also, for the floors of the halls, of linen cloth, 300 ells.

January the 26th. But the above Roll proves it to have been on February the 1st, with which, indeed, other records agree.



‘ *The ornament of the king’s Seat [“pulpitulum”] on the day of his Coronation, in the Church of Westminster.*

- ‘ For the fitting up and ornament of the seat of King Edward III. on the day of his coronation in the church of Westminster, Feb. 1, in the 1st year of his reign: viz. cloth of gold with diaper-work on silk, cloth of gold on linen, samite, —“*samitell*,”—velvet, tapestry, with cushions for the chamber, (as appears below,) used for the royal seat of Edward III., by the survey and testimony of John de Feriby, appointed clerk for this purpose by the seneschal and treasurer of the household:—for tapestry of different colours to cover the timber-work of the king’s seat, 21 tapestries.
- ‘ The same day, for cloth of gold on silk, to hang around the same seat, on every side, and for ornamenting the bench of the seat, . . . . 6 cloths and 1 quarter.
- ‘ The same day, for a veil or curtain to be stretched above over the king’s head, sitting on the chair in the royal seat, with cords of cloth of gold and purple linen, . . . . 2 cloths.
- ‘ The same day, for chamber cushions, for the king’s feet, sitting in the chair, . . . . 5 cushions.
- ‘ The same day, to hang between the cloths of gold and silk before-mentioned, around the royal seat, at the sides and borders, cloth of gold on linen, . . . . 22 cloths.
- ‘ Item, of striped cloth—“*pannus tartarus radiatus*”—for the same, . . . . 1 cloth.
- ‘ The same day, of strong lawn, for the same, . . . . 6 pieces.

‘ *For the ornament of the Rails of the Great Altar, and of the Pavement of the Church, on the Coronation-day.*

- ‘ Item, the same day, for fitting up and ornamenting the rails of the great altar, and the pavement, with cloth of gold and silk diapered, . . . . 4 cloths.

- ‘ The same day, for purple velvet for the same, . . . 1 piece.
- ‘ The same day, for cloth of silk,—*pannus tartarinus in serico*,—for the same . . . . . 1 cloth.
- ‘ *Ornaments of the King’s Chamber for his Consecration, with his oblations, and of the regal Chair before the Altar.*
- ‘ Item, the same day, for fitting up and ornamenting the king’s chamber, and for covering the king’s lesser chair before the altar, with cloth of gold,—“*pannus ad aurum de Nakr*,”— . . . . . 2 cloths.
- ‘ The same day, for cloth of gold on silk with diaper work, for the same, . . . . . 2 cloths.
- ‘ The same day, for the same, for “*samitell’ paleat’ de Styva*,” . . . . . 1 cloth.
- ‘ The same day, for chamber cushions for the king’s smaller chair, . . . . . 3 cushions.
- ‘ Item, for cushions for the king’s chamber, . . . . . 4 cushions.
- ‘ For silk gloves, for the king, at his coronation, . . . . . 1 pair.
- ‘ For the oblation of our lord the king, cloth of gold on silk with diaper-work, . . . . . 1 cloth.
- ‘ *Ornaments of the Chair of the Archbishop of Canterbury, before the Altar.*
- ‘ Item, for fitting up and ornamenting a chair in which the Archbishop of Canterbury sat at the king’s coronation, cloth of gold on silk,—“*pannus ad aurum in serico raf-fato*,” . . . . . 1 cloth.
- ‘ The same day, for two chamber cushions for the same chair.
- ‘ The same day, for tapestry to put under the chair, 2 pieces.
- ‘ *For covering the Tomb of the late King Edward (I.) on the Coronation-day.*
- ‘ The same day, for a covering for the tomb of the Lord Edward, the illustrious grandsire of King Edward III. at the

coronation, cloth of gold on silk with diaper-work, sewed together on account of the breadth of the tomb, 2 cloths.

*‘ Covers for the Cushions.*

‘ Item, of “*pannus de Tars*” for newly covering 3 cushions of the abbot of Westminster, for the king to place his foot on, descending from the great chair in the royal seat, after being anointed on the day of coronation, . . . 1 ell.

*‘ The Ornaments of the King’s Chamber before his taking the order of Knighthood.*

‘ Item, for the fitting up and ornamenting the king’s chamber, in his Palace at Westminster, on the last day of January; the night before he received the order of knighthood: viz. with red tapestry, and shields of the king’s arms in the corners, . . . 5 pieces.

‘ The same day, for cushions of new samite for the king’s chapel, . . . 3 cushions.

‘ For cushions of the same, for the chamber, after the king is knighted . . . 6 cushions.

‘ For bancours—“*bankeriis*”—for the same chamber, ornamented with different shields; viz. 4 red with green borders, 1 green, and 4 murrey and blue . . . 9 bancours.

‘ Item, for bancours for the chamber before mentioned, ornamented with tapestry, and shields in the corners with the king’s arms, . . . 3 bancours.

*‘ Ornaments of the Royal Seat, in the great Hall at Westminster, on the Coronation-day.*

Item, for ornaments for the king’s seat: viz. cloth of gold and Turkey silk, . . . 4 cloths, containing  $30\frac{3}{4}$  ells.

‘ The same day, for the back of the same, to preserve it from the humidity of the wall, . . . 24 ells of linen.



- ‘ The same day, for a veil, on the side of the king’s seat,  
cloth of gold on linen, . . . . . 12 cloths.
  - ‘ The same day, for 1 piece of velvet, for a veil, with labels,  
hanging before the table of the king; strengthened with  
red and grey lawn, . . . . . 4 pieces.
  - ‘ The same day, to place under the king sitting, 2 pieces of  
velvet, containing . . . . . 14 ells.
  - ‘ The same day, cushions of samite for the same, 3 cushions.’
- 

Edward the Third was both knighted and crowned on the same day, namely, on Sunday, February the 1st, 1327, he being then but little more than fourteen years of age. The former ceremony was performed (in the palace) by his cousin Henry, Earl of Lancaster; and that of the coronation by Walter Reginald, Archbishop of Canterbury: the oath administered to him resembled that taken by his father. The subsequent banquet was, as customary, given with much pomp in Westminster Hall.

Speaking of the commencement of this reign, it is remarked in the “First Report on the Dignity of a Peer,” that “the office of Chief Justiciary had then ceased; and the Chancellor had become the first Law Officer of the Crown. The King’s Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, had become completely separate Courts, the Presidency of the Chief Justiciar no longer existing; and the Puisne Judges of the Three Courts were considered all as equal in Degree, taking Rank according to their Antienty as Judges of the Land, the Chiefs of each Court only having Precedence of the Puisne Judges, and taking Rank among themselves;—the Chief Justice of the King’s Bench first, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas next, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer last.” The reign began under circumstances

which tended to establish and increase the authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament; and during its course the constituent parts of the Legislative Assemblies of the realm appear to have been considered as fixed, nearly as they now stand.

In a Parliament which assembled at Westminster on St. Brice's-day (November the 13th) 1328, the city of London received from the king a confirmation of all its former liberties: he also granted many new privileges to the citizens, including the jurisdiction of the borough of Southwark, and the *fee-farm* of London, at an annual rent of £300. Shortly after, viz. on the 24th of January 1328-29, the king was married, at York, to Philippa, the youngest daughter of the Count of Hainault and Holland, and the young queen was crowned in the abbey church at Westminster in the April following. "Upon these happy nuptials there was great joy all over England, but especially *at Court*, where there was nothing but justs and tournaments in the day-time, maskings, revels, and interludes with songs and dances in the evenings, and continual feasting with great magnificence, for three weeks together.\*

There is reason to believe that the works at St. Stephen's Chapel were discontinued for some time after Edward's accession; but the operations were recommenced in the spring of 1330, and continued, with little, if any, interruption until the entire completion of the chapel, about the years 1353 or 1354. Numerous Rolls relating to the expenses and progress of the works are yet extant in the king's remembrancer's office. About thirteen of them were particularly examined by Mr. Hawkins, when he engaged in collecting his materials for Smith's "*Antiquities of Westminster*;" and several others have been consulted on the present occasion.

\* Barnes's History of Edward III. p. 27.

To specify the particular titles of these records would occupy too much of our limited space, but it may be stated, generally, that there are rolls of account of Robert de Hill, "controller of the works of the new chapel of St. Stephen, within the palace," extending from the 4th to the 7th year of Edward III.; of John de Broghton, who was controller from the 7th to the 14th year of that reign, if not longer; and of Robert de Pyppeshull, or Pippeshull, who held the office from the 17th to the 19th year, when he was probably succeeded by Martin de Ixning; whose counter-rolls are extant for the 19th, 20th, and 21st of Edward III. This last officer was one of the royal chaplains, and he was presented to a prebend in St. Stephen's Chapel, on April 1st, 1351.\* The office of controller was subsequently held by Adam de Chestrefield, or Chesterfield, for several years, his accounts extending from the 29th to the 43d year of this long reign. De Chestrefield obtained a prebendal stall at St. Stephen's, in May 1369.† These persons appear to have been controllers of the accounts in regular succession, during nearly if not quite the whole time that the works of St. Stephen's chapel were carried on in the reign of Edward III.

The earliest among these accounts are those of Walter de Weston, "clerk of the works at the King's Palace of Westminster, and at the Tower of London," for several years. He was appointed to that office (as before stated) in the fourth of Edward III. In the twenty-third year of that reign he was chaplain‡ to the king, who bestowed on him the sixth prebend in St. Stephen's chapel.§ Peter de Bruges may have succeeded him as "clerk of the works at the pa-

\* Pat. 25 Ed. III. Pt. i. as cited by Newcourt, "Repertorium," vol. i. p. 748.

† Newcourt, vol. i. p. 749.

‡ Cal. Rot. Patent. p. 109 a.

§ Newcourt, vol. i. p. 747.



lace of Westminster," in the twenty-first of Edward's reign, as Mr. Hawkins mentions a Roll of de Bruges extending from October 15th, 21st Edward III., to August 10th following;\* but there is extant among these records a Roll intituled "*Particulæ Compoti Walteri de Weston, de operibus R. infra Turrim Lond. annis regni R. Ed. III. post conquest. 23º, 24º, & 25º.*"

Hence it must be inferred that if de Weston was superseded by de Bruges, as clerk of the works at Westminster, he still continued to superintend those at the Tower: or perhaps de Bruges was only his deputy. Robert de Campsale acted as clerk of the works at the palace, and at the Tower, from the twenty-fifth of Edward III. to the twenty-eighth, when he seems to have been succeeded in his office by Thomas de Stapelford, or Stapulford; for among these Rolls is one indorsed, "*Particulæ de operibus palatii de Westm' de tempore Rob. de Campsale, solutæ per manus Thom. de Stapulford, anno 28º.*" De Stapelford had been previously employed in keeping the accounts relative to other operations connected with the king's works, as we learn from another record, intituled "*Particulæ compoti T. de Stapelford, clerici, de omnibus receptis, misis, et expensis per ipsum factis, circa prosternationem quercuum in bosco de Beaumeis, ac eciam solutionibus vadior. magistrorum et operariorum, anno regni R. Edw. III. 23º.*" He continued in office, at least till the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of Edward III., as appears from another Roll. William de Læmbheth was "clerk of the works at the palace and Tower" in the 32nd year of this reign; but in the 35th the office was filled by William de Sleaford, whose accounts for that year, for the 36th, and 39th, are in the same office. He was one of the king's chaplains, and was a prebendary of St. Stephen's cha-

\* Smith's Antiquities of Westminster, p. 179.

pel, or college, of which establishment he was made dean, May 17, 1369.\*

The following details of the various operations at St. Stephen's chapel, and of the works of the palace generally, have been derived from the above-mentioned records. The interesting information which they furnish respecting the value of labour, prices of building materials, and other circumstances connected with former times, will be readily appreciated.

#### 4TH EDWARD III.

' 1330.—May 27th.—To Master Thomas the mason, coming first to Westminster, and beginning there upon the new Chapel of St. Stephen, '*et intrasura super moldas operanti*,' for his wages for six days, by order of the Lord Treasurer and Council, 6s.

' June 3.—To Master Thomas of Canterbury, master mason, working *et tractanti super trasuram*, 6s.

' June 5.—To John de Sene, merchant of Caen, for 400 Caen stones, called *Gobetts*, bought for the new chapel of St. Stephen, within the King's Palace at Westminster, at 4*l.* per 100, 16*l.*

To the same, for 300 Caen stones called *Quoins*, bought for the same Chapel, at 12*s.* 6*d.* per 100, 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

' June 10.—To Master Thomas of Canterbury, mason, "*operanti intrasura, et moldas de novo reparanti*," for his wages, 6s.

' July 15.—To Robert le Clerk, &c. three scaffold-makers, for erecting a scaffold at the east end of the Chapel, &c. for five days, at 3½*d.* per day, 4*s.* 4½*d.*

To six masons, for five days, at 5½*d.* per day, 13*s.* 9*d.*

To Walter Peny, marble mason, for six days, at 5½*d.* per day, 2*s.* 9*d.*

\* Newcourt, vol. i. p. 747; from the Patent Rolls.

To three marble masons, for five days, at the same rate,  
6s. 10½*d.*

To Will. de Benevill, marble mason, for five days, at 4*d.*  
per day, 1s. 8*d.*

To Will. le Hare, porter, for five days, at 3*d.* per day,  
1s. 3*d.*

‘ July 23.—To the scaffold-makers, for four days, 3s. 6*d.*

To Master Thomas of Canterbury, 6s.

To six masons, for five days, at 5½*d.* per day, 14s. 9*d.*

To two masons, for four days, at the same rate, 3s. 8*d.*

To Walter Peny, as before, for five days, 2s. 3½*d.*

To three marble masons, for five days, 6s. 10½*d.*

To Will. de Benevill, as before, 1s. 8*d.*

To Will. le Hare, porter, for four days, 1s.

‘ July 29.—To Mich. Dissher, of Wood Street, for twenty-five  
beams of alder tree, for the scaffold at the east end of the  
Chapel, at 2*d.* each, 4s. 2*d.*

To the same, for twenty-four hurdles for the same scaffold,  
at 2*d.* each, 4s.

To the same, for 500 thongs to tie the scaffolds, at 4*d.* per  
100, 1s. 8*d.*

For portorage and carriage of the beams, &c. from Wood  
Street to the Thames, 8*d.*

For boatage of the same to Westminster, 4*d.*

To Robert of St. Alban's, for two pounds of wax, for ce-  
ment, at 6*d.* per lb., 1s.

To the same, for eight pounds of pitch, at 1*d.* per lb.,  
8*d.*

To the same, for 100 nails called Spikyng, for the Scaffold,  
10*d.*

‘ Aug. 3.—To John de Sellyngale, and John Beckere, masons,  
for laying stones and iron-work in the east gable, for six  
days, at 5½*d.* per day, 5s. 6*d.*



To John Bakere, John of Oxford, and Richard of Fever-sham, masons, for five days, at *5d.* per day, *6s. 3d.*

‘Aug. 17.—To John de Sellyngale, and John Bekere, for working on the east gable, for six days, as before, *5s. 6d.*

To John Baker, mason, for six days, at *5d.* per day, *2s. 6d.*

#### 5TH EDWARD III.

‘1331.—March 1.—To Rich. de Lynne, and Walt. le Murie, layers of stone, for working on the east gable, six days, at *5½d.* per day, *5s. 6d.*

‘March 15.—To three layers of stone, for six days’ work, at the same rate, *8s. 3d.*

To two carpenters, for working six days, at *5d.* per day, *5s.*

To two scaffold-makers, for working six days, at *3½d.* per day, *3s. 6d.*

‘April 27.—To Thomas Bernak, of Lambeth, for twenty-three large Reygate stones, for the form pieces for the windows, at *2s.* each, with carriage, &c. *2l. 6s.*

‘June 15.—To Thos. Bernak, for fifteen pieces of Reygate stone, for mold-pieces for the upper windows, at *2s.* each, *1l. 10s.*

To Thos. Bernak, for nineteen pieces of Reygate stone, for the said molds, at *2s.* each, *1l. 18s.*

‘June 30.—To Thos. Bernak, for ten pieces of Reygate stone, for the sides of the chapel, at *2s.* each, *1l.*

‘July 6.—To Thos. Bernak, for fourteen pieces of Reygate stone, called form-pieces, for the windows, at *2s.* each, with carriage, &c. *1l. 8s.*

‘July 20.—To William of Kent, for one hundred-weight of lime, for mortar, for the great window of the east gable, *3s. 6d.*

To John Shaw, for four cart-loads of sand, for the said mortar, *4d.*

‘ May 4.—To Michael and Richard of Wood Street, for 100 poles of alder, for the scaffold at the east gable of the new chapel, 16s.

To the same, for twelve large poles for standards for the scaffold, at 10*d.* each, 10s.

To the same, for twenty-four hurdles for the scaffold, at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* each, 3s. 6*d.*

To the same, for 1000 thongs, as before, 3s. 4*d.*

To Gilbert of Wood Street, for two long poles, for standards to the scaffold, at 12*d.* each, 2s.

To the same, for six beams of alder, to make centres, at 2*d.* each, 1s.

Cartage and boatage, 1s. 6*d.*

‘ April 27.—To John de Sene, merchant of Caen, for 250 Caen stones, called *Gobetts*, for the new chapel, at 4*l.* per 100, 10*l.*

To the same, for 350 of Caen stones, called *Quoins*, at 12s. 6*d.* per 100, 2*l.* 3s. 9*d.*

To Robert of St. Alban's, for one pound of wax, to make cement, 6*d.*

To the same, for eight pounds of pitch, at 1*d.* per lb., 8*d.*

‘ July 20.—To Roger of Waltham, for a large cable of hemp for drawing up stones by a windlass to the top of the chapel, weighing six score great pounds, at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per lb., with portorage and boatage, 17s. 6*d.*

‘ Aug. 3.—To Rob. of St. Alban's, for 3 cwt. of Spanish iron, for bars and iron-work at the east gable, at 4s. 8*d.* per cwt. 14s.

To Walter de Bury, smith, for making the iron into bars, at 4s. per cwt. 12s.

To Tho. Bernak, for four pieces of Reygate stone, at 2s. each, 8s.

‘ Aug. 11.—To Rob. of St. Alban's, for 2 cwt. of iron, 9s. 4*d.*

To W. de Bury, for working the said iron, almost one half of which was wasted in the fire, 8s.

‘Aug. 31.—To Rob. of St. Alban’s, for  $3\frac{1}{4}$  cwt. of iron, 15s. 2d.

To Walter the smith, of Bury, for making the iron into bars, almost half being wasted, 13s.

‘Sep. 22.—To Thos. Bernak, for ten pieces of Reygate stone, for form-pieces for the east gable, at 2s. 10d. each, with carriage, &c. 1l. 8s. 4d.

To the same, for five pieces of Reygate stone, at the same rate, 14s. 2d.

‘Sep. 30.—To John le Tresssh of London, for two oak boards for moulds for the masons, at 12d. each, 2s.

To the same, for three oak boards called Lidholts, for the said moulds, at 6d. each, 1s. 6d.

‘Sep. 28.—To Thomas Bernak, for five pieces of Reygate stone, for the form-pieces of the east gable, at 2s. 10d. each, 14s. 2d.

‘Nov. 2.—To Bartholomew Cisson, for one pound of grease, for greasing the pulleys and beams, 2d.

‘Nov. 13.—To John Walworth, glazier, for three windows of *white glass*, for the chapel of St. Stephen, 7s.

‘Dec. 2.—To Nicholas Ivory for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hundred of reeds, for covering the new house for the stone-cutters and workmen, at 10d. per hundred, with boatage to Westminster, 6s. 3d.  
To Rich. le Clerk, for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hundred of reeds, for the same purpose, 3s. 9d.

To Rob. of St. Alban’s, for 2000 nails for laths, at 10d. per thousand, 1s. 8d.

To the same, for 1000 of iron nails for an inclosure in the above house, 7d.

To Walter Gautron, for 300 of hert-laths for the said house, at 5d. per hundred, 1s. 3d.



To the same, for 500 beech-laths for the said house, at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per hundred, 1s.  $0\frac{1}{2}d.$

‘Dec. 7.—To Thos. Bernak, for seventeen form-pieces of Reygate stone, for the window in the east gable, at 3s. each, 1l. 10s.

‘1332.—Jan. 7.—To John Bishop, for twelve cart-loads of clay, at  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per load, 1s. 6d.

To Bartholomew the stone-cutter, for one quarter of charcoal, for cementing the stone, as burnt, 6d.

To Robert of St. Alban's, for wax and pitch, for cement, 1s. 2d.

#### 6TH EDWARD III.

‘1332.—Feb. 8.—To Tho. Bernak, for ten form-pieces of Reygate stone, for the east gable, at 2s. 6d. each, 1l. 5s.

‘Feb. 15.—To the same, for seventeen form-pieces of stone, for the gable, at 2s. each, 1l. 14s.

To the same, for five small form-pieces, at 10d. each, 4s. 2d.

‘March 15.—To John de Ringwode, for two oak boards, for covering two tabernacles at the east end, at 3d. each, 6d.

To John de Lincoln, for 100 beech boards to cover the *soursadel reredos*, in the east gable, 6s. 8d.

To Walter le Best, for two boards to cover the said gable, 1s.

To Walter de Bury, smith, for eighteen cramps, to strengthen the stones in the gable, 1s. 6d.

To the same, for twelve *goromis* [qu. wedges?], and six small hooks, 9d.

‘April 19.—To Tho. Bernak, for a long and large stone for an image, 6s.

To the same, for seventeen large form-pieces of Reygate stone, for the east gable, at 4s. each, 3l. 8s.

‘April 26.—To the same, for nine pieces of Reygate stone, at 3*s.* each, 1*l.* 7*s.*

‘May 17.—To the same, for nine pieces of Reygate stone, for the east gable, at 4*s.* each, with carriage, &c. from Reygate, 1*l.* 16*s.*

To the same, for three pieces of stone, at 3*s.* 6*d.* each, 10*s.* 6*d.*

To Walter de Bury, for an iron bar twelve feet long, weighing three quarters ten pounds, at 1½*d.* per lb., made out of his own iron, to strengthen a marble column, and keep in its place under the great form, 10*s.* 7½*d.*

‘June 14.—To Walter de Bury, smith, for three *gogons* of iron, for the gable, at 3*d.* each, 9*d.*

‘July 19.—To Michael Dissher, for fifty beams of alder, for the new scaffold at the gable of the front of the new chapel, 8*s.*

To the same, for thongs and hurdles for the scaffold, 5*s.* 2*d.*

‘July 26.—For a half hundred-weight of lime, to make mortar for the lower gable in front of the chapel, 2*s.*

‘Aug. 2.—To John de Parys, for plaster of paris, to mend the defects in the great stones of the gable, &c. 8*s.*

‘Aug. 9.—To Michael of Canterbury, marble-mason, for one boat-load of *cartat*, with stones called rag, of the weight of ten dolers, to fill up between the walls of the new chapel, 8*s.*

To Thomas le Northerne, for half a hundred of beech boards, to cover the stone-masons during their work in the front of the chapel from wind and rain, &c. 4*s.* 6*d.*

To Tho. Bernak, of Reygate, *rokarius*, for eight stones for the lower gable of the chapel, at 4*s.* each, 1*l.* 12*s.*

To the same, for six smaller stones for the stairs (*Greze*) of the tower in the south part of the gable, in front of the chapel, 15*s.*

- ‘Aug. 16.—To the same, for eight stones which were wanting to close up the lower gable, at 1*s.* 6*d.* each, 12*s.*  
To Tho. Bernak, for two large stones, bought to make two images, 5*s.* 6*d.* each, 11*s.*
- ‘Aug. 23.—To John de Hungerford, carpenter, for working and making timbers for the scaffold to be erected afresh round the towers of the front of the chapel, for six days, at 5*d.* per day, 2*s.* 6*d.*  
To two scaffold-makers, for erecting and tying the scaffold, five days at 3½*d.* each, 2*s.* 11*d.*
- ‘Aug. 30.—To Walter the smith, for two large staples, and two large hooks, of his own iron, weight eighty pounds, to bear and support two large images in front of the chapel, 10*s.*
- ‘Sept. 13.—To Master Richard of Reading, for making two images by task-work in gross : viz. for an image of St. Edward, and another of St. John in the likeness of a pilgrim, to be put in front of the gable of the chapel, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
- ‘Nov. 2.—To Walter de Bury, the smith, for making two iron bars called *tirauntz*, fifteen feet long each, out of seven hundred-weight of iron de Baton, received by order of the treasurer out of the stores in the Tower ; and for work upon the said bars, for the purpose of strengthening and keeping in their places the *moynells* (mullions of the window) in the east gable, at the rate of 4*s.* per cwt., three-fourths of the iron being wasted in the fire because of its weakness, 1*l.* 8*s.*
- ‘Nov. 9.—To Thomas Clip, for 500 reeds, for covering the walls of the chapel, and the stones and timber, at 11*d.* per hundred, with boatage, 4*s.* 7*d.*
- ‘Nov. 23.—To two workmen covering over the walls of the chapel, at 3*d.* per day each, 2*s.* 6*d.*
- ‘Dec. 7.—To Tho. Bernak, for seventeen form-pieces of



Reygate stone, for the window in the east gable, at 3*s.* each, 2*s.* 11*d.*

### 7TH EDWARD III.

‘1333.—March 21.—To John de Hungerford, carpenter, for two days’ work on a penthouse on the gable, where the masons began that week to lay the stones on the said gable, at 5*d.* per day, 10*d.*

‘April 11.—To two scaffold-makers for erecting a new scaffold round the tower on the north part of the gable, six days’ work, at 3½*d.* per day each, 3*s.* 6*d.*

‘Sept. 30.—To Walter Merye, and Ralph le Hunte, layers of stone, for four days’ work on the gable and walls of the chapel, at 5½*d.* per day each, 3*s.* 8*d.*

To Tho. Bernak, of Reygate, for twenty-four stones for the two towers of the front of the chapel, and to inclose and complete the lower gable, 1*l.* 4*s.*

To Richard of Talworth, merchant and citizen of London, for half a hundred-weight of wood, to melt lead, solder, &c. 3*s.*

To Walter the smith, for twelve cramps, of his own iron, to secure the stones of the gable, 8*d.*

‘Oct. 18.—To Robert de Thorney, for 2000 lath-nails, 1*s.* 8*d.*

To Michael le Disshere, for 150 beams of alder, at 2*d.* each, 1*l.* 5*s.*

To Rob. Mancel, for 1000 beech-laths, at 2½*d.* per hundred, 2*s.* 1*d.*

‘Oct. 25.—To Nicholas Jouri, for 300 reeds, to cover the penthouse over the gable, at 10*d.* per hundred, 2*s.* 6*d.*

### BETWEEN 4TH & 7TH EDWARD III.

‘1330—1333.—Oct. 21.—To Thomas the Plasterer, for work upon the upper vestibule of the new chapel, six days, 3*s.*

- ‘ Aug. 26.—To Robert le Lockiere, for a lock to the door of the upper vestibule in the new chapel, 6*d*.
- ‘ Sep. 25.—To the same, for a lock for the lower vestibule, 1*s*.

PROBABLY BETWEEN 7TH AND 10TH EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1333—1337.—Jan. 9.—To Richard de Bramcote and John Bekker, masons, working on a door in the west gable, for three days, at 4½*d*. per day each, 3*s*. 6*d*.
- ‘ Jan. 9.—To John de Hungerford and John de Tunbridge, carpenters, working on the King's Oratory, between St. Stephen's Chapel and the Painted Chamber, six days, at 4*d*. per day each, 4*s*.  
To John Nichol, for 10 pieces of timber, for beams and rails over the King's Oratory, at 9*d*. each, 7*s*. 6*d*.
- ‘ Jan. 23.—To Tho. de Greenwich, for 400 reeds, to cover the gable, oratories, &c., 4*s*.
- ‘ March 7.—To Peter Bernak, of Reygate, for six stones, for the steps of one of the towers of the chapel, at 8*d*. each, with carriage, 4*s*.
- ‘ April 11.—To Walter, the smith, for 18 new irons, (called *tyraunts*) for the tower of the gable, at 3*d*. each, 4*s*. 6*d*.
- ‘ April 18.—To Michael le Disser, for half a hundred of alder poles, for a new scaffold round two towers of the gable of the chapel, at 2*d*. each, 8*s*. 4*d*.  
To Walter, the smith, for twelve iron cramps, (called *tirauntz*), to strengthen the stones of the two towers, at 3*d*. each; and six small *goromis* of iron, at ½*d*. each, 3*s*. 3*d*.
- ‘ May 30.—To Nicholas Gerad, of Lambheth, *rokarius*, for twenty-five Reygate stones, to make steps for the two towers near the great gable, at 10*d*. each, with carriage, 12*s*. 6*d*.
- ‘ August 22.—To Nich. Gerard, for sixteen Reygate stones,

for the steps of the tower towards the east, at 10*d.* each, with boatage, 13*s.* 4*d.*

‘ Sept. 12.—To Walter de Bury, the smith, for six large *goromis* of iron, to strengthen the stones in the tower of of the gable and its pinnacles, 3*s.*

‘ Sept. 26.—To Nich. Garard, for ten Reygate stones, for the tower and gable, at 10*d.* each, 8*s.* 4*d.*

‘ Dec. 12.—To John de Lincoln, for 800 beech laths, for covering and preserving two oratories, viz. the King’s, between the new chapel and the Painted Chamber, and that in the west gable where the Bell Tower is to be, at 3½*d.* per 100, 2*s.* 4*d.*

To Tho. Clyp, of Greenwich, for 800 reeds, to cover the walls of the gable of the chapel and oratories, at 1*s.* per 100, with boatage, 13*s.*

To ten masons working on the gables and Bell Tower, for six days, at 4½*d.* each, 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

#### 10TH EDWARD III.

‘ 1336.—Feb. 19.—To William of Kent, for 500 tiles, for the pavement of the King’s Chapel, at 1*s.* per 100, 5*s.*

To the same, for 3½ cwt. of lime, at 4*s.* per cwt., 14*s.*

To John de Foxley, for 33 loads of sand, 1*l.* 3*s.*

‘ Feb. 26.—To Will. of Kent, for 2,000 tiles, for the pavement of the King’s Chapel, 1*l.*

To John Robes and Simon Robes, paviours, laying down the tiles for pavement, in the King’s Chapel, six days, at 5*d.* per day each, 5*s.*

To John of Canterbury, and John of Lynne, two boys, serving the paviours, making mortar, &c., for six days, at 3*d.* per day each, 3*s.*

#### 15TH EDWARD III.

‘ 1341.—April 2.—To Tho. Pikard, Tho. of Lincoln, and Will.



of Knightsbridge, tilers, working on the building of the Marshalsea, and upon the Coppehouse under the King's Chapel, for five days, at 5*d.* per day each, 6*s.* 3*d.*

‘ June 30.—To Olive le Cook, for 200 nails, for the stairs of the vestry of the new chapel, 8*d.*

‘ Oct. 21.—To John de Glatton, carpenter, working on the penthouse of the west gable of the new chapel, six days, at 5*d.* per day, 2*s.* 6*d.*

‘ Oct. 24.—To Agnes le Disshere, for six pieces of alder timber, for a scaffold to the chapel of St. Stephen, near the Receipt, to repair and mend the wall on the south side with plaster of Paris afresh, at 2*d.* each, 1*s.*

To Richard Bacon, for six bushels of white plaster for the said wall, at 1*s.* 3*d.* per bushel, 7*s.* 6*d.*

To the same, for three bushels of black plaster, for the same wall, 3*s.*

‘ Nov. 6.—To Richard Bacon, plasterer, working on the wall of the south side of the chapel, and on the windows there, three days, at 6*d.* per day, 1*s.* 6*d.*

To Richard de Waltham, plasterer, working there three days, at 4*d.* per day, 1*s.*

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Among the Rolls lately found in the King's remembrancer's office, is one intituled “Receþt Walt' de Westoñ Clič Opač Dñi Reğ Palač Westm̃ et Tur̃ Londoñ de ann vº. viº. viiº. viiiº. ixº. xº. xiº. xiiº. xiiiº. xiiiiº.” This account specifies the particular sums of money that were, from time to time, advanced from the Exchequer, by the king's treasurer and chamberlain, to Walter de Weston, (clerk of the works at the Palace and the Tower,) during the first ten years after the re-commencement of the architectural operations at St. Stephen's Chapel. The sums stated to have been issued expressly for the buildings at the Tower, form a comparatively inconsi-

derable portion of the whole: the remainder appears to have been regularly applied to the liquidation of the wages of the workmen at St. Stephen's, accounts of which were delivered into the Treasury,—“in rotulo de particulis quem liberavit in Thesaurario.”

The sums accounted for by William de Weston are as follow:—In the 5th year of Edward III. 40*l.*; in the 6th, 342*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; in the 7th, 478*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*; in the 8th, 325*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*; in the 9th, 140*l.*; in the 10th, 190*l.*, of which 100*l.* was expended on works at the Tower; in the 11th year no sums are mentioned as appropriated to the payment of workmen at St. Stephen's, but sums to the amount of 145*l.* were expended at the Tower. In the 12th year the whole expenditure was 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, out of which two sums of 30*l.* each were laid out on the Tower, and the remainder on works at the palace; 60*l.* being received from the treasurer and chamberlain at one time, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* at another; and 40*l.* “in two portions, part being received immediately by Wm. de Weston, and part through the hands of Thomas de Stapelforde, from Wm. de Vāghan, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex; and disbursed for certain works in the Palace and Tower, for the repair of defects within the said Palace, and in discharge of the wages of masons working on the aforesaid new chapel, accounts of which are contained in the great Roll for the said year xii.” The whole sum in the account for the 13th year is 369*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, of which 227*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* was expended on the Tower, and 3*l.* on the Mews; and in the 14th year the whole expenditure was 168*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*, of which 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* only was for the works at the Palace.

#### 17TH EDWARD III.

‘ 1343.—Jan. 7.—To four workmen covering the tabernacles, carrying stones, &c., five days, at 2½*d.* per day, 3*s.* 2*d.*

‘ Jan. 20.—To John de Ewell, and five other labourers, 6*s.* 3*d.*

- Feb. 10.—To John Rameseye, and five other labourers, 9s.
- Feb. 17.—To the same, 7s. 6d.
- Jan. 30.—To John de Glatton, carpenter, working on the stairs of the vestry, six days, at 5d. per day, 2s. 6d.
- August 25.—To Robert le Lokyer, for mending the iron-work of the lower vestry of the Chapel of St. Stephen, 1d.
- Nov. 4.—To Thomas le Cok, for 200 of hert-laths for the penthouse of the west gable, 1s.

### 19TH EDWARD III.

- 1345.—Sept. 30.—To Hugh de Donnulton, for two stone form-pieces, for the upper story of the chapel, 3s. 4d.
- Oct. 29.—To Hugh de Donnulton, for three form-pieces, 5s.
- Nov. 4.—To the same, for six form-pieces, 10s.
- Nov. 12.—To the same, for eight form-pieces, 13s. 4d.
- To the same, for fourteen form-pieces, 1l. 3s. 4d.
- Nov. 18.—To the same, for six form-pieces, 10s.
- Nov. 26.—To the same, for two form-pieces, 3s. 4d.

### 21ST EDWARD III.

- 1347.—March 24.—To William Bonet, for sixty plaunch boards for the floor over the cieling of the upper chapel, 1l.
- Boatage of the boards, &c. from London to Westminster, 10d.
- May 19.—For the wages of forty-one masons, working on the chapel, for six days, at 5½d. 5l. 12s. 9d.
- To John Fulbourn, Thomas Seli, with eighteen other carpenters, working on the *vosura* [vaulting?] of the upper chapel, for six days, at 6d. per day, 3l.
- To John Grevill, plumber, with his boy, for three days, at 11d. per day, covering the king's closet near the great altar of the new chapel, 2s. 9d.
- June 30.—To William Felton, for 100 sounds, for glue for the carpenters, 1s. 6d.



- To Robert Lenard, for eighty-two stones—"stone de Bere"—for the works of the king's chapel at Westminster, 21*l.* 10*s.*
- ‘ July 14.—To Agnes Dishe, for 100 hurdles, to put on the top of the chapel to cover and preserve it, 14*s.*  
To the same for seven large hurdles, 2*s.* 4*d.*
- ‘ July 21.—To William Beynes, for 600 nails, for the ceiling of the chapel, and for the scaffolding, 1*s.* 6½*d.*  
To John Syward, for 200 sounds, for glue, for the ceiling, 2*s.* 6*d.*
- ‘ Oct. 15.—To William Hamele, of Weymouth, for sixty-eight great stones de Bere, for the chapel, 11*l.*  
To John Toft, mason, for working on the chapel "*super stapulacionem*,"—[probably 'bosting,' or embossing] and carving of stones, six days, at 3*s.* per week, 3*s.*  
For 100 Estrich boards, for the ceiling of the King's Chapel at Westminster, 15*s.*  
For the wages of sixteen carpenters, working "*super stapulationem*" of the timber for the *vousura* of the upper chapel, for six days, at 6*d.* per day, 2*l.* 8*s.*  
For the wages of two carpenters' apprentices, carving the bosses of the upper chapel, for five days, at 4*d.* per day, 3*s.* 4*d.*
- ‘ Oct. 22.—For the wages of twenty-three carpenters, working as well upon the *vosura* of the chapel, as upon the new house near the Receipt offices of the Exchequer, for six days, at 6*d.* per day, 3*l.* 9*s.*'

## 25TH EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1351.—March 19.—To Wm. Padryngton, for one large stone, bought at Dunstaple, for making an image of *St. Stephen*, 10*s.*  
To the same, for two stones, for two images of two Serjeants at arms, 10*s.*

- 1351.—May 13.—To Wm. Herland, for two pounds of glue, bought for the stalls in the chapel, 10*d*.  
To Wm. Frere, for twelve *sondes de greylyng* (grayling sounds) bought for the same, 8*d*.
- ‘ June 20.—For sixty-one *sondlets*, bought of Master Andrew the smith, for the east window of the chapel, weight 51lbs. at 2*d*. per lb., 8*s*. 6*d*.  
To three tylers, working on the repair of the roof of a chamber for the vicars of the king's chapel, two days, at 3*d*. per day, 2*s*.
- ‘ July 4.—To Master Andrew the smith, for eighteen cramps and *gorons*, bought for *les Vuz* of the east part of the chapel, weight 30½lbs., at 2*d*. per lb., 5*s*. 3*d*.
- ‘ July 11.—To the same, for eight bars of iron, bought to strengthen the stones at the top of the east *vice* of the same chapel, weight 27lbs., at 2*d*. per lb., 4*s*. 6*d*.
- ‘ July 18.—To Master Andrew the smith, for two circles of iron, for the top of the west tower of the chapel, 13*s*. 4*d*.
- ‘ July 25.—To Wm. Hurle, carpenter, working on the stalls, five days, for his weekly wages, 7*s*.  
To two sawyers, sawing timber for the stalls, five days, at 5*d*. per day, 4*s*. 2*d*.  
To Master Andrew, the smith, for bars, cramps, and *sondelets*, for the windows of the chapel, weight 51lbs., at 2*d*. per lb., 8*s*. 6*d*.  
To Simon le smyth, for 100 nails, to fasten in the glass, 9*d*.  
For one pair of *suff*” [*suffulcra*, supporters, or stays?] bought to mend the work of the finials of the tabernacles, 5*d*.
- ‘ Aug. 1.—To Rich. Wilton, “*apparil*,” [or foreman,] of the aforesaid works, working on the stalls, six days, for his weekly wages, 3*s*. 6*d*.

To five carpenters, at 6*d.* each per day, and one at 4½*d.* per day, working on the stalls six days, 17*s.* 3*d.*

To Rich. Euer, for 200 Ryngholt boards, for the scaffold of the upper chapel, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the same, for 1000 great spikyng, for the planks for the stalls of the king's chapel, 5*s.*

To Master Andrew the smith, for ninety *sondelets* of iron, for the windows of the upper chapel, weight 198*lbs.* at 2*d.* per *lb.*, 1*l.* 13*s.*

One quarter of coals, bought to heat the stones for the repair of the tabernacles and windows of the upper chapel, 1*s.* 2*d.*

To Simon le Smyth, for 200 *cloring* nails, to keep the glass together till it was joined, 1*s.* 6*d.*

‘ Aug. 8.—To Master Andrew the smith, for cramps, bars, and *sondelets*, for the windows, weight 127¼ pounds, 1*l.* 1*s.* 2½*d.*

To Wm. Herland, carpenter, working on the stalls of the upper chapel, five days, 4*s.* 8*d.*

‘ Aug. 22.—To Rob. Long, Roger Southwark, and four other sawyers, sawing timber for the stalls, five days, at 5*d.* per day, 8*s.* 4*d.*

‘ Sept. 12.—To W. Hurle and W. Herland, working on the stalls, and on the seneschal's chamber, at the same rate as before, 11*s.* 8*d.*

‘ Sept. 26.—To Wm. de Padryngton, for two images made for the chapel, by agreement made with him by the treasurer to receive by task work, for each four marks, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*  
To the same, for making twenty *Angels* to stand in the tabernacles, by task-work, at 6*s.* 8*d.* for each image, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the same, for making a certain image, called *John le Wayte*, of stone found by himself, by task work, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*



To the same, for making three *Kings* to stand in the tabernacles of the chapel, of the king's stone, by task-work, at 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for each image, 8*l.*

To the same, for making two images, of two *Serjeants at arms*, of the king's stone, by task-work, at 4*l.* each, 8*l.*

To Wm. Wayte, for the repair of the pomells and finials of the tabernacles in the chapel, by agreement made with him by the treasurer, by task-work, 5*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*

Oct. 17.—To Rich. de Euere, for 150 Ryngolt boards, for the stalls of the king's chapel, at 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* per 100, 2*l.* 5*s.*

Nov. 14.—To Agnes Disshere, for 100 logs of alder, for a certain lodge new made, for making the stalls of the chapel, 1*l.*

1352. --Jan. 9.—To the scaffold-maker, for erecting a scaffold to glaze the windows of the chapel, 2*s.* 3*d.*

To Master Andrew, the smith, for 44 *gorons*, for the finials above the chapel, 2*s.* 6½*d.*

Jan. 16.—To the same, for 32 large *gorons*, for the finials, 6*s.* 5¼*d.*

#### 26TH EDWARD III.

Feb. 27.—To Ralph Hugyn, John Maydeston, John Beche, Richard de Wicombe, and eight other masons, working on the *pontell* and *coupis*, and on taking down the wall in the upper chapel, where the stalls are to stand, for six days, at 5½*d.* per day, 1*l.* 13*s.*

March 5.—For 1000 tiles for the pavement of the vestry of the under chapel, 12*s.*

To Thomas Eliot, for a marble stone, for the altar in the vestry, 1*l.* 4*s.*

To Adam de St. Alban's, for locks and other furniture, for six doors of an *almariole*, in the vestry, for keeping the vestments in, 10*s.*

March 5.—For a ship-load of chalk, 9*s.*, and for 100 sacks

of lime, 6s., for repairing the wall behind the stalls of the chapel, 15s.

‘ March 19.—To Ralph de Cambridge, for six finials of tabernacles for the chapel, 6s.

‘ March 26.—To the same, for three cusps for the finials of the tabernacles in the east gable, 2s.

‘ March 26.—To Peter de Estcombe, for a boat-load of chalk, for repairing the *Reredos*, on the outside of the stalls of the chapel, 7s. 6d.

‘ April 2.—To Robert le Lockyere, [the locksmith,] for mending a lock, &c., the whole furniture of the great door of the chapel, and other work, including a plate lock, with one bolt, for the low door leading *per le vic* [by the winding staircase] into the painted chamber, 5s.

For rushes to strew the chapel against the feast of Easter, 8d.

‘ April 12.—To Robert Winchester, mason, for repairing the pinnacles of the tabernacles of the chapel,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days, at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per day, 1s.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

‘ April 16.—To Robert Winton, and three more masons, for working on the pinnacles, six days, at  $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day, 11s.

‘ April 23.—To seven masons working on the door under the prince’s chamber, and upon the *Reredos*, on the north part of the chapel, and upon the squaring of the stones for the walls near the queen’s bridge, for five days, at 5d. per day, 14s. 7d.

‘ May 7.—To Master Andrew the smith, for eighty cramps, bought for the wall near the Thames, and for the works above the top of the chapel, weight 113lbs. at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. 14s.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

‘ May 21.—To the same, for eighty cramps for *le vitz* of the chapel, weight 43lbs., at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., 5s.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Expended on the covering of the chapel, two *carrats* [that is, 4,368lbs.] of lead.

Used in the strengthening of several stones on the top of

the chapel, with *gorons*, and cramps, and lead, six wagers [1,092lbs.] of lead.

- ‘ June 4.—To Nicholas Ploket for an ell of linen cloth to wrap up the cup, 1s.

To John Brocher, for one boat-load of chalk, for the *Reredos*, on the outside of the stalls of the upper chapel, 7s.

- ‘ July 2.—To John Ponk, for 500 tiles, for paving the chamber and chapel of the king, 6s.

- ‘ July 9.—To Master Andrew the smith, for fifty-two cramps, *pro vice australi*, at the west part of the chapel, 71lbs., at 2d. per lb., 11s. 10d.

- ‘ Aug. 13.—To John Box, mason, for taking down and repairing the *vice* on the south part of the chapel at the west end, as by agreement, besides his task, 5l. 7s. 10d.

To Master Andrew the smith, for twenty-nine staples to strengthen the gutters of the great hall, and forty cramps for the works of the upper chapel, 16s. 9d.

- ‘ Aug. 27.—To John Profit, for sixteen loads of Reygate stone, for the *Alura* of the upper chapel, at 1s. 8d. per load, 1l. 6s. 8d.

Carriage of the same, from Reygate to Batrichsey [Battersea], 16s., and boatage thence to Westminster, 2s., 18s.

- ‘ Oct. 3.—To Robert Geffrey and three others, for sawing timber for the finials of the stalls of the king's chapel, three days and half, at 5d. per day, 5s. 10d.

- ‘ Oct. 17.—To William Crowe, carpenter, working on the stalls five days, at 3s. 6d. per week, 3s. 6d.

For two large *gorons* for the works of the upper chapel, 1l. 0s. 10d.

- ‘ Oct. 24.—To Master Andrew the smith, for four *gorons* to secure the upper stones upon the great pinnacles of the chapel, weight 33lbs., 5s. 6d.

- ‘ Nov. 14.—To Master Andrew the smith, for iron-work, 2l. 11s. 9d.



The preparations for the ornamental painting and glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel were commenced about 1350, and the works were carried on for several years after that date. The Rolls of account relating to the same, are particularly interesting from the many notices they include connected with the history of *oil-painting*;—and it may be remarked here, that they most decidedly invalidate the claim of John van Eyck (as advanced by Vasari) to be considered as the inventor of that art, in 1410. They also furnish us with the names of numerous artists, (mostly our own countrymen,) who were engaged in executing the splendid decorations which adorned the Chapel; and of whom Hugh de St. Alban's appears to have been the principal one, as he is expressly called '*master of the painters*,' in a precept which is entered on the Patent Rolls, and has been printed in the "Fœdera."

That the chief artists were men of distinguished eminence in their profession there can be no doubt; and to them was entrusted the power both of selecting their assistants and compelling them to serve at 'the king's wages'—(*ad vadia nostra*)—in the pictorial embellishment of the chapel. The nature of the authority thus delegated, will be best understood from the following translation of a precept tested by the king himself, at Westminster, on the 18th of March, 1350: viz.

'The King to all and singular the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, officers, and his other lieges, as well within liberties as without, to whom, &c. greeting:—

'Know ye, that we have appointed our beloved Hugh de St. Alban's, master of the painters assigned for the works to be executed in our Chapel, at our Palace at Westminster, to take and choose as many painters and other workmen as may be required for performing those works, in any places where it may seem expedient, either

within liberties or without, in the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex; and to cause those workmen to come to our Palace aforesaid, there to remain in our service, at our wages, as long as may be necessary. And therefore we command you to be counselling and assisting this Hugh in doing and completing what has been stated, as often and in such manner as the said Hugh may require.\*

Similar mandates were issued in favour of John Athelard, and Benedict Nightēgale, or Nightingale, the former for Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire; and the latter for Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. About the same time also, John Geddyng, glazier, received the king's commission to procure glaziers for the works of the chapel, in the counties of Kent and Essex; for which service, as well as for collecting glass, he was allowed one shilling per day for himself and his horse.†

The account Rolls already referred to, of the 25th, 26th, 29th, and 31st of Edward the Third, contain much curious information respecting the operations of the painters in those years. They specify the names of the artists, their rates of wages, the sums which they received from time to time, and occasionally, a statement of the kind of work on which they were employed. The wages of the artists varied from fivepence to one shilling per day; except with respect to a person named John Barneby, (employed at St. Stephen's chapel in 1355,) who was paid two shillings per day. The general wages appear to have been from eightpence to tenpence per day; but

\* Vide "*Fœdera*,"—"De H. de S. Albano Magistro Pictore, de Pictoribus eligendis pro operationibus in Capitulo in Palatio Regis faciendis," vol. iii, part i. p. 193: edit. 1825.

† Smith's "*Antiquities of Westminster*," p. 199.

the assistants engaged in grinding and tempering colours had only fourpence-halfpenny for the same time. From the numerous entries on these Rolls, the following passages have been selected as the most interesting, on account of the information they supply concerning the particular decorations on which the painters were employed.

## 25TH EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1351.—June 20.—To John Elham and Gilbert Pokerig, painters, working on the chapel, as well on the tablements as on the priming of the east end of the king’s chapel, six days, at 10*d.* per day each, 10*s.*
- ‘ July 4.—To Master Hugh de St. Alban’s and John de Cotton, painters, working there on the drawing of several images, [figures,] in the same chapel, four days and a half, at 1*s.* per day each, 9*s.*
- ‘ July 11.—To Master H. de St. Alban’s, painter, working there on the ordination [grouping, probably?] of the painting several images, two days, at 1*s.* per day, 2*s.*  
To John Cotton, painter, working there on the said drawing, six days, at 1*s.* per day, 6*s.*
- ‘ July 25.—To H. de St. Alban’s, working there on the ordination of several images, four days, at 1*s.* per day, 4*s.*
- ‘ Aug. 8.—To H. de St. Alban’s, working there on the ordination of images to be painted in the same chapel, three days, at 1*s.* per day, 3*s.*
- ‘ Oct. 3.—To H. de St. Alban’s and John de Cotton, painting and drawing several images in the same chapel, six days, at 1*s.* per day each, 12*s.*
- ‘ Oct. 24.—To John Elham and Gilbert Pokerig, drawing images in the same chapel, five days, at 10*d.* per day, 8*s.* 4*d.*



## 26TH EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1352.—Jan. 30.—To John Elham and Gilbert Pokerigh, painting several images in the chapel, five days, at 10*d.* each, 8*s.* 4*d.*
  - ‘ Feb. 27.—To H. de St. Alban's, working there two days on the drawing of images, as before, 2*s.*
  - ‘ March 12.—To John Elham, Gilbert Pokerigh, and William Walsingham, painting the tabernacles and images in the chapel, six days, at 10*d.* per day each, 15*s.*
  - ‘ March 19.—To the same, painting images [figures] on the walls of the chapel, six days as before, 15*s.*
- From subsequent entries, it appears that these artists were employed for several months in painting figures on the walls of the chapel, whilst other painters were engaged on similar work at lower wages.
- ‘ April 12.—To Wm. Heston and two others, laying on the gold, as well on the said walls, as on the placing of the preynts on the marble columns in the chapel, two days and a half, at 5*d.* per day each, 3*s.* 1½*d.*
  - ‘ April 30.—To H. de St. Alban's, ordering or designing the drawings for the painters, one day, 1*s.*
  - ‘ May 7.—To the same, working on the disposition of the painting of the chapel, three days, as before, 3*s.*  
To Wm. Walsyngham, and Gilbert Pokerich, painting angels for the tabernacles, six days, at 10*d.* per day each, 10*s.*
  - ‘ May 13.—To H. de St. Alban's, disposer (or rather designer) of the works of the painters, painting there two days, 2*s.*
  - ‘ May 28.—To Wm. de Walsyngham, working on the painting of the angels in the chapel, 2½ days at 10*d.* per day, 2*s.* 1*d.*
  - ‘ July 16.—To Edw. Paynell, and three others, laying on gold and pryntes in the chapel, six days, at 6*d.* per day each, 12*s.*

‘ July 24.—To E. Paynel and five others, making pryntes, and placing them in the same chapel, five days, as before, 15*s*.

29TH EDWARD III.

July 27.—To John Barneby, painter, working on the chapel, six days, at 2*s*. per day, 12*s*.

To John Barneby\* and William Maynard, painters, working there, six days, at 1*s*. per day each, 12*s*.

Gilb. Pokerich was employed at 10*d*. per day, and others at lower wages, together with those artists, in the latter part of the month of July, and during the whole of August, and part of September.—The following is a summary of the wages for painting, paid between the 5th of June, 1357, and the 4th of June, 1358.

31ST AND 32D EDWARD III.

‘ 1357.—For the wages of Hugh the painter, [H. de St. Alban’s,] working on the chapel of St. Stephen, for sixteen working days, and two and a half holidays, between Sept. 12, and Oct. 4, at 1*s*. per day, 18*s*.

To Wm. Maynard, working there seventy-five working days, and seven and a half holidays, between July 10 and Nov. 6, at 1*s*. per day, 4*l*. 2*s*.

To the same, for forty-five working days, and five and a half holidays, between Nov. 6 and Jan. 29, 1358, at 11*d*. per day, 2*l*. 5*s*. 10*d*.

‘ 1358.—To the same, for sixty-four working days, and five and a half holidays, between Jan. 29 and June 4, at 1*s*. per day, 3*l*. 9*s*.

‘ 1357.—To G. Pokerich, for thirty-two working days, and two and a half holidays, between June 5 and July 17, at 10*d*. per day, 1*l*. 8*s*. 4*d*.

\* This John Barneby must have been a different individual from the person mentioned in the preceding extract, who wrought at 2*s*. per day;—and most probably, of inferior talents.

- ‘ 1358.—To Wm. Lincoln, for eighty-four working days, and five and a half holidays, between Jan. 29 and June 4, at 8*d.* per day, 2*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*

To Wm. Somervill, for sixty-four working days, and five and a half holidays, between Jan. 29 and June 4, at 8*d.* per day, 2*l.* 6*s.*

- ‘ 1357.—To Wm. Heston, for thirty-one working days, and two and a half holidays, between June 27 and Aug. 8, at 6*d.* per day, 16*s.* 6*d.*

To John York and Wm. Cambridge, for sixty-two working days, and six and a half holidays, between Oct. 23 and Jan. 29, at 4*d.* per day each, 2*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

- ‘ 1358.—To the same J. York, for sixty-four working days, and five and a half holidays, between Jan. 29 and June 4, at 4½*d.* per day, 1*l.* 5*s.* 10½*d.*

To the same W. Cambridge, for eighty-three working days and five and a half holidays, between Jan. 29 and June 4, at 4½*d.* per day, 1*l.* 13*s.*

- ‘ For the wages of Master Edmund Canon, master stone-cutter, working on the stalls of the king's chapel, from June 5, 31st Edward III., to June 4, 32nd Edward III., 364 days, at 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, 27*l.* 6*s.*.\*

Among the miscellaneous entries for the same years, the following occur, viz.

‘ To John Prophet, for 218 loads of Reygate stone, for the cloisters of le Pue, &c. at 3*s.* per load, 32*l.* 14*s.*

To Master Andrew, for two ridell, [probably curtains, or cloth screens?] for the chapel of St. Mary; and two iron bars for the windows in the chancellor's, 12*s.*

To the same, for an iron stand for the image of St. Stephen, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

\* The above particulars have been derived from the abstracts given by Mr. Hawkins, in Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster." Several of the Rolls which that gentleman examined are not at present accessible.



To the same, for three pair of ornaments for the stalls, 3s.

To Wm. Padrington, for making eleven images for the stalls, at 8s. each image, 4l. 8s.

To the Prior of the church of the Holy Trinity, for forty-four pieces of timber, for the stalls, 10l.

To Thomas of St. Batho, glazier, for one window of glass, to go over the chancel, 40 feet, at 1s. 2d. per foot, 2l. 6s. 8d.

To Nicholas le Peutrer, for 160 lbs. of tin, for leading the window, at 3d. per lb., 2l.

To John Deynes, for twenty-one thousand nails, called tacks, for the stalls, at 1s. per thousand, and twenty-two thousand sprig-nails for the same, at 1s. per thousand, 2l. 3s.

To Thomas Motte, for 40lbs. of glue, for the stalls, at 4d. per lb., 13s. 4d.

To Thomas Atte Lee, for twenty-five fish sounds, for the same, 2s.

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The windows of St. Stephen's chapel were richly ornamented with stained or painted glass; which decorations, as appears from the entries on the Rolls already cited, were in progress at the same time as the other embellishments of the interior of the building. Among the names of the artists employed, are those of John Athelard and John Geddyng, who were unquestionably the same individuals that had been commissioned to collect artists and labourers for the undertaking, as mentioned in a former page. It is expressly stated that the designs were drawn by *Master John de Chester*, glazier, who was the principal artist engaged on this kind of work, at the weekly wages of seven shillings; but he had several able assistants at the somewhat lower wages of six shillings per week. The ensuing extracts chiefly relate to the purchase of the glass, and to the labour of the artists.

## 25TH AND 26TH EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1351.—Aug. 15.—To William Holmere, for 107 *ponder* of white glass, bought for the windows of the upper chapel, each hundred containing 24 *ponder*, and each *ponder* containing five pounds, at 16*s.* per cwt., 1*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*  
To Thos. de Badekewold, for 110 *ponder* of glass, at 14*s.* per hundred, and 7*d.* per *ponder*, 19*s.* 10*d.*
- ‘ 1352.—Oct. 3.—To Peter Bocher (*Butcher*), for eight pounds of suet, bought for soldering the glass windows, 8*d.*  
To Leuen Crawe, for two *ponder*, and four pounds of blue glass, for the windows, at 1*s.* per *ponder*, 2*s.* 9½*d.*  
To Henry Staverne, for sixteen *ponder* of red glass, for the windows of the upper chapel, at 2*s.* 2*d.* each *ponder*, 1*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*
- ‘ Oct. 10.—To Wm. Holmere, for 110 lbs. of blue-coloured glass, for the windows of the upper chapel, at 3*l.* 12*s.* per cwt., 3*l.* 18*s.*  
Carriage of the same from Candlewick Street, 6*d.*
- ‘ Oct. 17.—To John Prentis, for ten hundred of white glass, and of various other colours, for the windows of the said chapel, at 18*s.* per hundred, 9*l.*  
Carriage and boatage of the same from London to Westminster, 1*s.* 3*d.*
- ‘ Oct. 30.—To John Alemayne, for 303 *ponder* of white glass, for the chapel windows, at 12*s.* per hundred, 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*  
Carriage of the same glass from Chiddyngfold to Westminster, 6*s.*
- ‘ Nov. 7.—To J. de Alemayne, for 36 *ponder* of white glass for the chapel windows, at 6*d.* per *ponder*, 18*s.*  
Carriage of the same glass from Weld to Westminster, 3*s.*
- ‘ Nov. 21.—To Wm. Holmere, for twenty-six *ponder* of azure-coloured glass (bought in London,) for glazing the chapel windows, at 3*s.* each *ponder*, 3*l.* 18*s.*

‘Dec. 12.—To the same, for sixty ponder of white glass, bought at Chiddinfold, for the windows of the chapel, at 6*d.* per ponder, 1*l.* 10*s.*

25TH EDWARD III.

‘1351.—June 20.—To Master John de Chester, glazier, working on the drawing of several images for the glass windows of the king’s chapel, at 7*s.* per week, 7*s.*

To John Athelard, John Lincoln, Simon Lenne, John Lenton, and Godman de Lenton, five master-glaziers, working there on similar drawings, five days, at 1*s.* per day, 1*l.* 5*s.*

To Wm. Walton, Nicholas Dadyngton, John Waltham, John Lord, Wm. Lichesfeld, John Selnes, Thomas Jonge, John Geddyng, John Halsted, Robt. Norwich, and Wm. de Lenton, eleven painters on glass, painting glass for the windows of the upper chapel, five days, at 7*d.* per day, 1*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*

To Wm. Ens, and fourteen others, glaziers, working at the chapel, on the cutting and joining of the glass for the windows, six days, at 6*d.* per day, 2*l.* 5*s.*

‘June 27.—To John Geddyng, for washing the tables for drawing on the glass, 4*d.*

To Master J. de Chester, working there on the drawing of images on the said tables, for his week’s wages, 7*s.*

To John Athelard, John Lincoln, Simon de Lenn, and John de Lenton, working there on the aforesaid drawings, six days, at 1*s.* per day, 1*l.* 4*s.*

To Godman de Lenton, working with them four days, at 1*s.* per day, 4*s.*

To Wm. Walton and others, seven glaziers, working on the drawing of the glass for the windows, six days, at 7*d.* per day each, 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

To Nicholas Dadyngton and four others, glaziers, painting glass, five days, at 7*d.* per day each, 14*s.* 7*d.*



To Wm. Ens, and nine others, glaziers, joining glass for the windows, six days, at 6*d.* per day each, 1*l.* 10*s.*

To four glaziers, working on the aforesaid works five days, at 6*d.* per day each, 10*s.*

Accounts of weekly payments to nearly the same artists, are continued on the Roll to November the 28th, in which period occur the following entries.

‘ July 4.—To Simon le Smith, for seven *croysours* (cross irons), to break and work the glass, at 1½*d.* each, 8½*d.*

For *cepo arietino* (mutton suet) bought, and filings, to make solder for the glass windows, 6*d.*

‘ July 11.—To Simon le Smyth, for twelve other *croisours*, 1*s.* 3*d.*

For *servicia* (cerevisia? ale, or wort) for washing the tables for drawing on the glass, 7*d.*

‘ Aug. 15.—To Master J. de Chester, for drawing the images, or figures, for the glass of the windows, 6*s.*

‘ Aug. 22.—To Master J. de Chester, and six other glaziers, working on the drawing of the images for the windows, six days, at 1*s.* per day each, 2*l.* 2*s.*

‘ Sep. 12.—To Master J. de Chester, and J. Athelard, glaziers, drawing images for the windows of the chapel, at the weekly wages of 6*s.* each, 12*s.*

‘ Oct. 3.—To Master J. de Chester, J. Athelard, J. Lincoln, H. Lichesfeld, Simon de Lenne, and J. de Lenton, six master-glaziers, drawing and painting on white tables several drawings for the glass windows of the chapel, five days, at 1*s.* per day each, 1*l.* 16*s.*

To John Coventry, and thirteen others, glaziers, breaking and joining the glass upon the painting tables, five days, at 6*d.* per day each, 2*l.* 2*s.*

For cervis’ (ale, or wort) to wash the painting tables for the office of the glaziers, 3*d.*

‘ Oct. 10.—To Master J. de Chester, and five other glaziers, painting on the white tables, for the windows of the chapel, six days, at 1s. per day each, 1*l.* 16*s.*

To John Coventry, and nine other glaziers, laying the glass on the tables and painting it, six days, at 6*d.* per day each, 1*l.* 10*s.*

To Thomas de Dadyngton and Robert Yerdesle, grinding different colours for the painting of the glass, five days, at 4½*d.* per day, 3*s.* 9*d.*

Many other entries of a similar nature to the above, occur both in that and the following year, viz. 1352, 26th of Edward III.—On the 3d of August, 1355, (29th of Edward III.,) the sum of 3*s.* 4*d.* was paid to a glazier, for a week’s labour, in mending the windows of the chapel: and on the 10th of the same month, 2*s.* 9½*d.* to the same glazier, for five days’ work. On the same day, Richard Lackenham was paid 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for a certain image of *St. Mary*, bought for the under chapel.

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Independently of the above particulars, the Rolls examined by Mr. Hawkins afford considerable information relative to the colours, oils, varnishes, and other materials used for the decoration of the walls and windows of this chapel, and the prices charged for them. Large quantities of stained glass of various colours, as blue, red, azure, and white, were used in glazing the windows; and silver filings, *geet* [probably jet], and *arnement* [orpiment, or yellow arsenic], are mentioned among the materials procured for painting on the glass. The painting of the walls, pillars, and tabernacles was executed in oil colours; and the following extracts from Rolls for the 25th of Edward III., and some of the succeeding years, will show what were the charges for the articles thus used.

## 25TH EDWARD III.

- ‘1351.—June 26.—To John Lightgrave, for 600 leaves of gold, for painting the *tablements* (entablatures?) of the chapel, at 5*s.* per 100, 1*l.* 10*s.*  
To the same, for twelve leaves of tin, for the liessers [borders] of the said tablements, 1*s.*  
For cole and squirrels’ tails for the painting of the chapel, 3*d.*
- ‘July 11.—For nineteen pounds of white lead, for priming, at 4*d.* per pound, 6*s.* 4*d.*
- ‘July 18.—To John Matfrey, for sixty-two pounds of red lead, at 5*d.* per pound, 1*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*  
To Master H. de St. Alban’s, for four flagons of painters’ oil, for the painting of the chapel, 16*s.*
- ‘July 25.—To the same, for two flagons of cole, for the painting of the said chapel, 2*d.*  
To the same, for half a pound of teynt, for the painting of the chapel, 2*s.*
- ‘Aug. 8.—To the same, for a pound and a half of oker, 3*d.*  
To the same, for two small earthen jars to put the colours in, 1*d.*  
For half a pound of cynephe, for the painting of the upper chapel, 17*s.* 3*d.*
- ‘Aug. 15.—To Lonyn de Bruges, for six and a half pounds of white varnish, at 9*d.* per pound, 4*s.* 10½*d.*
- ‘Sep. 5.—To Hugh de St. Alban’s, for half a pound of red lead, 8*d.*  
To the same, for three pounds of azure, 1*l.* 10*s.*  
For thirty peacocks’ and swans’ feathers, and squirrels’ tails, for the painters’ pencils, 2½*d.*  
For one pair of shears, to cut the leaves of tin, 2*d.*
- ‘Sep. 19.—For one pound of hogs’ hair, for the painters’ pencils, 1*s.*



For nineteen flagons of painters' oil, at 3*s.* 4*d.* per flagon,  
3*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

To John Lyghtgrave, for 600 leaves of gold, at 4*s.* 6*d.* per  
hundred, 1*l.* 7*s.*

For half a pound of cotton, for laying on the gold, 7½*d.*

‘Sep. 26.—To John Tynbetere, for twelve dozen leaves of  
tin, 12*s.*

‘Oct. 3.—To John Lyghtgrave, for fifty-one pounds of white  
lead, for the painting of the chapel, at 2½*d.* per pound,  
10*s.* 7½*d.*

To the same, for 2350 leaves of gold for the same painting,  
at 4*s.* 6*d.* per hundred, 5*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*

To the same, for three pounds of azure, at 10*s.* per pound,  
1*l.* 10*s.*

To the same, for one pound of cynople, 1*l.* 10*s.*

To the same, for two pounds of vermelon, 3*s.* 4*d.*

‘Oct. 10.—For cole, and peacocks' and swans' feathers, for  
the works of the chapel, 2½*d.*

To John Lyghtgrave, for fifty-three pounds of white lead,  
at 3½*d.* per pound, 15*s.* 5*d.*

To the same, for forty-three pounds of red lead, at 4*d.* per  
pound, 14*s.* 6*d.*

To the same, for three pounds of white lead, 1*s.*

To the same, for 2650 leaves of gold, for the paintings of  
the chapel, at 4*s.* per hundred, 5*l.* 6*s.*

‘Oct. 17.—To Wm. de Hamelamsted, for 1 cwt. 2 qrs. 2 lbs.  
of tin for the king's works there, at 1*l.* 2*s.* per cwt.,  
1*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*

‘Nov. 7.—To Wm. Alemand, for 900 leaves of gold for the  
paintings of the chapel, at 4*s.* per hundred, 1*l.* 16*s.*

‘Nov. 14.—To the same, for 700 leaves of gold, for the  
painting of the tabernacles of the chapel, 1*l.* 8*s.*

To Margaret Piebaker, for half a pound of cynopre, for the painting of the chapel, 10*s*.

To Master H. de St. Alban's, for two pounds of cynopre from Montpellier, at 8*s*. per pound, 16*s*.

To the same, for fifty-two pounds of white varnish, at 8*d*. per pound, 1*l*. 14*s*. 8*d*.

‘ Nov. 21.—To John Matfray, for two pounds of azure, at 7*s*. per pound, 14*s*.

To George Cosyn, for two pounds of vermilion for the same, at 1*s*. 8*d*. per pound, 3*s*. 4*d*.

‘ Dec. 5.—To John Lyghtgrave, for three pounds of vermilion, at 2*s*. per pound, 6*s*.

1352.—‘ Jan. 2.—To John Lambard, for two quatern' of royal paper for the painter's patrons [patterns], 1*s*. 8*d*.

For one pair of scales to weigh the different painters' colours, 1*s*.

‘ Jan. 9.—John Tynbeter, for six dozen and eight leaves of tin for the pryntes [stamps?] for the painting of the same chapel, 6*s*. 8*d*.

#### 26TH EDWARD III.

‘ Feb. 6.—To John Tynbeter, for six dozen leaves of tin, to make the pryntes for the painting of the chapel, 6*s*.

‘ Feb. 13.—To John Lyghtgrave, for 136lbs. of white varnish, at 4½*d*. per lb., 2*l*. 11*s*.

To the same, for 18lbs. of red varnish, at 4*d*. per lb., 6*s*.

For seventy peacocks' and swans' feathers, to make pencils for the painters, 2½*d*.

‘ Feb. 27.—For squirrels' tails, for making the painters' pencils, 1*d*.

‘ March 19.—To John Matfray, for 4lbs. of oker, for priming of the walls of the chapel, 8*d*.

To the same, for 2lb. of brun [brown], for the same, 6*d*.

‘ March 19.—To Thomas Drayton, for eight flagons of pain-

ter's oil, for the painting of the chapel, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per flagon, 1*l.*

‘ March 26.—To Gilbert Pokerig, for two flagons of cole, 2*d.*

To the same, for two earthen pots, to heat the cole, 1½*d.*

‘ April 16.—To John Matfray, for 2*lbs.* of vert de grece, 2*s.* 4*d.*

‘ April 22.—To John Lyghtgrave and William Allemant, for 400 leaves of silver, at 8*d.* per 100, 2*s.* 8*d.*

To the same, for 2100 leaves of gold, for the painting of the same chapel, at 4*s.* per 100, 4*l.* 8*s.*

‘ April 30.—To Gilbert Pockerich, for swans’ and peacocks’ feathers, for the pencils of the painters, 2*d.*

For thread, &c. to bind the brushes and pencils of the painters, 1*d.*

‘ June 4.—To Simon de Lenne, for 1½*lb.* of hogs’ bristles for the painters’ brushes, 1*s.*

To Gilbert Pockerich, for 153 peacocks’ and swans’ feathers, for the pencils of the painters, 3½*d.*

‘ June 18.—To John Tynbetre, for ½*lb.* of teynt, for the painting of the angels, 1*s.* 8*d.*

‘ June 25.—To John Lyghtgrave, for 10*lbs.* of weak azure, for the painting of the chapel, at 5*s.* per *lb.*, 2*l.* 10*s.*

To Gilbert Pockerig, for one flagon of cole, and for “*stupis*” [stamps ?] for printing the painting with impressions, 2*d.*

‘ Aug. 13.—To John Lyghtgrave, for 300 leaves of silver, for the painting of a certain window to counterfeit glass, at 8*d.* per 100, 2*s.*

To the same, for 2*lbs.* of viridisgrece, for the same, 1*s.* 8*d.*

To the same, for 3*lbs.* of vermelloni, for the same, 6*s.*

For cole for the same, 1*d.*

‘ Aug. 27.—To Nicholas Chaunser, for fifteen ells of canvas, to cover the images of the kings to be painted, 6*s.* 8*d.*



- ‘ Sept. 3.—To George Cosyn, for one quatern’ of royal paper, to make the painters’ patrons [patterns], 10*d*.

### 29TH EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1355.—July 27.—To John Matfray, for 2lbs. of white lead, for the paintings of the chapel, 1*s*. 4*d*.  
 ‘ Aug. 17.—To John Lightgrave, for  $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of sinopre, 1*l*. 10*s*. 6*d*.  
 ‘ Sept. 21.—To John Matfray, for 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of white lead, 1*s*.

### 31ST EDWARD III.

- ‘ 1357.—To John Lyghtgrave, for 2300 leaves of gold, for the paintings in the chapel, from June 5, 31st of Edward III., to June 4, in the following year, 4*l*. 12*s*.  
 To Master Hugh, for four flagons of oil, for the same, at 1*s*. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d*. per flagon, 7*s*. 6*d*.  
 To Wm. Maynard, for  $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of sinopre, for the same, in gross, 17*s*. 2*d*.  
 To the same, for 2lbs. of verdigris, at 1*s*. per lb. ; and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of vermilion, at 2*s*. 1*d*. per lb., 5*s*. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d*.  
 To the same, for 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of white lead, at 6*d*. per lb., 3*s*. 3*d*.

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There is a curious entry on the Patent Rolls of the 37th of Edward III., (anno 1363,) tested by the king himself, at Westminster, on the 4th of June, which shews that the decorations of St. Stephen's chapel were not completed at that time ; and also supplies an example of the arbitrary precepts that were not unfrequently issued by the king to procure workmen. In this instance, the painters of the city of London were to be impressed into the king's service, and retained in it, as long as might be requisite, at his own wages :—the precept may be thus translated, viz.

‘The King to all and singular the Sheriffs, &c., greeting:—

‘Know ye, that we have appointed our beloved William de Walsyngham to take so many *Painters* in our City of London (the fee of the Church excepted,) as may be sufficient for our works in St. Stephen’s chapel, within our Palace of Westminster, and to bring them to our Palace aforesaid, for our works, at our wages, there to remain as long as may be requisite: and [given him authority] to arrest all who shall oppose or prove rebellious in this matter, and commit them to our prisons, until we shall have otherwise ordered their punishment. And therefore we command you that you be assisting the said William, in executing and fulfilling all things before mentioned with your aid and counsel, as often and in the manner in which by the said William on our account you may be required.’\*

Some very considerable works were in progress at Westminster in the years 1365 and 1366, as we have ascertained from a Roll in the King’s Remembrancer’s office, thus intituled, namely, “*Particula Compoti*,” &c.—‘Particulars of the Account of William de Sleford, clerk and supervisor of the King’s Works at his Palace at Westminster, of all receipts, disbursements, and expenses of the said William, from the 28th of September, in the 39th year [of Edward III.] to the 27th of September ensuing, being for one whole year.’

The receipts for the ‘Michaelmas’ half year amounted to 688*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.*, the greater part of which was derived from the royal treasury; but about fifty pounds was taken in payment from Robert de Morton, for seven carrats, four wagers,

\* See “*Fœdera*,” Hague Edit., Vol. III., Pt. 2, p. 796.

and eleven claws of lead\*. The amount of the 'Easter' half year was 922*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*; making a total of 1610*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.*, nearly the whole of which was expended within the year. The nature of the works which were then in progress, as well as the prices of materials and labour, will be seen from the following extracts.

## 39TH AND 40TH EDWARD III.

1365.—' Payments.—To John Wytcliff, for 22 dol. [blocks?] of Bere-stone, (with freitage,) bought "pro tabulamentis et gargol,"—entablatures and gargols (or gargles\*) of the *New Tower* at the end of the king's garden, and for the entablature of a clock-tower, "*pro quod' orolog'*," within the palace, at 8*s.* 6*d.* per dol., 11*l.* 1*s.*

To John Donat, for sixteen dol. of Caen stone, (with freitage,) for the same works, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per dol., 5*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

To Philip Profit, John Longeland, and Stephen Pratte, for 469 "*carrats*" of Reygate stone, bought for doors and windows, and for boatage of the same to the above tower, and carriage from Reygate to Battersey, price per "*carrat*" 3*s.* 70*l.* 7*s.*

To William Gretyng, Simon atte Hall, Maurice Yong, and William atte Barr, for 8107½ feet of stone called ashlar, bought at Maidstone for the aforesaid dial-tower, &c., price 3*d.* per foot, 101*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.*

To the same persons, for 5675 feet of stone called "*urnell*" bought for the same works, at 8*s.* per 100 feet, 22*l.* 14*s.*

\* These terms denote certain weights: a *carrat* is equal to twelve wagers; one *wager* to twenty-six claws; and one *clavis* to seven pounds.

† Gargles or gargols, are the jets, or water-spouts, which in old buildings frequently protrude from cornices and other projections, and are sculptured to represent dragons' and serpents' heads, heads of demons, and others of grotesque or hideous aspect.



To the same William, &c., for sixty-four boat-loads of rag-stone, for the same works, at 7s. per load, 22*l.* 8s.

To Thomas Chamberlayne, for two smaller boat-loads of rag-stone, at 5s. per load, 10s.

To Robert Gladwyn, Richard Mersshmane, Adam Sengle, and William Shorham, for eight boat-loads of rag-stone, for the same works, with freitage from Maidstone to Westminster, at 1*l.* 7s. per load, 10*l.* 16s.\*

There are several other entries of a similar description, to the amount of 28*l.* 19s.

‘To John Morden, for 240 stones of Reygate, for the work called “*sherches*,” bought for a certain stair-case, [“*pro quadam vice*”] in the aforesaid tower near the king’s garden, at 4*d.* per piece, 4*l.*

To the same John, for fifteen stones of Reygate, for the work called “*nowells*” [newells], bought for the same stair-case, in gross, 2*l.*

To William Grettyng, for fifty *corbels* of Maidstone stone, for the aforesaid clock-tower, at 11*d.* each, 2*l.* 5s. 1*d.*

To Robert Parys, for two stones called *gressos*,\* bought to sharpen the masons’ instruments, price 6s. each, 12s.

To Robert Wheler, for 15,500 plain tiles, bought to cover the house within the palace, price per 1000 6s., 4*l.* 13s.

To Roger Sudbury, for 1000 plain tiles, bought for the same, 6s. 8*d.*

To John Tyler, for 4000 plain tiles, bought for the same, price per 1000 6s., 1*l.* 4s.

To Nicholas Donat, for 500 Flanders tiles, bought for a certain chimney there made, 2s.

\* According to Du Cange, “*Gressius*,” or “*Gressus*,” signifies a flint or paving stone. In the record, it is obviously used to designate hard smooth stones, like those which are converted into oil-stones for carpenters and other artificers.

To Henry Yeveley, for 7000 Flanders tiles, bought for the pavement of the courts and other works, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per 1000, 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the same, for six "*mouncell*" of plaster of Paris, bought for plastering the courts of the above tower near the king's garden, price "per mouncell" 12*s.*, 3*l.* 12*s.*

To Alan Plasterer, for twelve bushels of white plaster, burnt, bought for the walls of the chambers of the same tower, at 1*s.* per bushel, 12*s.*

To the same, for fifty-one bushels of black plaster, bought for the areas [floors?] of the same chambers, at 8*d.* per bushel, 1*l.* 14*s.*

To John Goshenne and John Wylteshire, for eight boat-loads of chalk, for the said clock-tower, at 9*s.* per load, 3*l.* 12*s.*

To Robert Maundevill and John Colman, for seventeen boat-loads of chalk, bought for the same, at 8*s.* per load, 6*l.* 16*s.*

To Roger Hardell, John Papelwyk, Olive Goldyng, John Duet, and Roger Duet, for 5450 *cal*s, bought for making mortar for the aforesaid tower and other works, at 7*s.* per 100, 19*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

To the same Roger, &c. for 6650 *cal*s, bought for the same works, at 6*s.* per 100, 19*l.* 19*s.*

To the same, for 5150 *cal*s, bought for the same works, at 5*s.* 6*d.* per 100, 14*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

To the same, for 6600 *cal*s, bought for the same works, at 5*s.* per 100, 16*l.* 10*s.*

To Stephen Chese, for 450 cart-loads of coarse sand, bought for making mortar, at 3*s.* 4*d.* for 100 loads, 15*s.*

To William Farnaham, for eight cart-loads of clay, for mending the floor of a building called the *Weigh-house*, 2*s.* 6*d.*

*Timber.*—To John Bythewod, for fifty-seven cart-loads of timber, bought at Reygate, for works at the King's Palace at Westminster, and at the Tower of London, price per cart-load, 2*s.* 6*d.*, 7*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

To William Kirketon and Robert Paris, for 150 boards called Ryngholt, price per 100 2*l.* 10*s.*, 3*l.* 15*s.*

To the same, for 600 boards called *waynscot*, price per 100 1*l.*, 6*d.*

To Thomas Fant, for 1000 hert-laths from Croydon, bought in London, at 11*d.* per 100, 9*s.* 2*d.*

To Thomas Carpenter, of Kyngeston, for 1000 hert-laths, 5*s.* 6*d.*

To the same, for 5200 hert-laths, at 5*s.* per 1000, 1*l.* 6*s.*

To William Gretyng, for 100 great laths, “empt’ pro cendulacione magnæ aulæ Westm’,” 6*s.*

To Robert atte Pytte, for 800 sap-laths, price per 100 5*d.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*

To William Kyng, for fifty boards, bought for the masons to make centring, price per foot 4*d.*, 16*s.* 8*d.*

To the same, for fourteen plaunch boards, bought for the same, 7*s.* 3*d.*

To William Sunning and John Rudyan, for 355 scaffold logs, at 3*d.* per foot, 4*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

To William Segstane, for 150 crates or hurdles [“crat”], bought to make the scaffolds, at 4*d.* per foot, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To William Kyng, for 5450 thongs [scortic’], bought for the same, at 7*d.* per 100, 1*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.*

To the same, for ten bundles of *warroks*, for the same, at 2½*d.* per bundle, 2*s.* 1*d.*

To William Joynor, for one small fine table, or slab, bought for the king's table, “pro una parva tabula subtili, empt. pro mensa Regis,” 6*s.* 8*d.*



To John Dunstaple, "pro una tabula cum tristall', empt. pro mensa Regis," 10*s*.

To Nicholas Porter, for three wine-casks, at 1*s*. 8*d*. each, 5*s*.

To John Clopton, for five wine-casks, and one pipe, empty, bought "pro cendul' inde fac'," to make shingles, price per cask, 1*s*. 6*d*., pipe, 9*d*., 8*s*. 3*d*.

To Thomas Chamberlayn, for 5500 shingles, bought at Croydon, at 13*s*. 4*d*. per 1000, 3*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

To John atte Wode, for 36,000 tile-pegs ["cavilt tegut"], at 3*d*. per 1000, 6*s*.

'Nails.—["Clav' cum cerur'."] To John Deynes, for 4400 nails with tinned heads, bought for the new doors, at 10*d*. per 100, 1*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*.

To the same, for 4500 nails with tinned heads, for the windows, at 8*d*. per 100, 1*l*. 10*s*.

To the same John and William Sunning, for 5300 spy-kyngs, bought for the scaffolds and other works, at 8*d*. per 100, 1*l*. 15*s*. 4*d*.

To Richard Lenard, for 11,500 spykyngs, for the same work, at 5*s*. 6*d*. per 1000, 3*l*. 3*s*. 3*d*.

To the same, for 4,500 nails, called dornails, at 4*d*. per 100, 15*s*.

To the same and John Deyns, for 7,000 black window nails, for the same work, at 2*s*. 6*d*. per 1000, 17*s*. 6*d*.

To Richard Lenard, for 8,500 shingle nails, bought for the roof of the great Hall and the King's Treasury ["in grosso"], 19*s*. 4*d*.

To John Deyns, for 1,400 *selyng* nails, at 2*s*. 1*d*. per 1,000, 2*s*. 11*d*.

To the same, for 500 small *selyng* nails, at 2*d*. per 100, 10*d*.

To the same, for 14,000 rove nails, for the lathing, at 1*s*. 4*d*. per 1,000, 18*s*. 8*d*.

To the same, for 11,000 tyrauns? ["traun',""] for the same, at 1s. per 1,000, 11s.

To the same John and Richard, for 14,000 sprigs, for the same, at 10*d.* per 1,000, 11s. 8*d.*

To the same Richard, for 11,000 tyrauns, at 11*d.* per 1,000, 10s. 1*d.*

‘*Iron-work.*—[Ferr. et cerur’.]—To Master Stephen Smith, —“pro una cerur’ cu’ 2 clav’, 1 par’ garnettor’\* 2 ligatur’ ad 4 bolt’ et 160 clav’ gross. rivat. et omnib. stannatis,”—bought for a certain door newly made in the King’s garden —“in grosso,”—3*l.* 3s. 4*d.*

To the same, “pro garnett’\* et viroff.” of iron tinned, for a certain house called *Tent*, “cum rege cariaud. pro tempore venacionis,” 9s.

To the same, for three great iron bars and ten lesser bars, for the windows of the chamber of the before-mentioned tower, near the king’s garden, weight 2,941lbs., 27*l.* 8s. 2*d.*

To the same, for 260 nails, bought to repair the bridge of the [wool-] staple and palace—“pro emendatione pont’ stapulæ et palac’,”—weight 79½lbs., at 2*d.* per lb., 13s. 3*d.*

To the same Master Stephen, for one great iron stay bar, two pair of “vertivell’ ad gumphis, ten sondel. laches, and catches, and iron wedges,” bought for a certain window in the Great Hall, weight 153lbs., at 2*d.* per lb., 1*l.* 7s. 6*d.*

To the same, “pro 2 cass’ ferr.”† for the glazing of the same window, six pair of garnetts—“pro prædict. armorial. infra prædictam capellam,”—and two iron plates for two doors in the King’s Treasury in Westminster Abbey, 14s. 4*d.*

To John Halfmark, for eighteen stokloks, bought for the

\* A “pair of gernets” “for the window of the priests’ chamber,” is mentioned by Mr. Hawkins, from a Roll of the 26th Edw. III. “Antiquities of Westm.” p. 206.

† *Cassa* probably signifies the iron frame, or casement of a window.

various doors of the aforesaid tower, and other houses within the palace of Westminster, at 1*s.* 3*d.* each, 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

To the same, for six great plate locks with keys, bought for a certain "*armariol*," in the King's chapel, 5*s.* 10*d.*

To the same, for six clykette-loks with keys, bought for divers doors, 5*s.* 2*d.*

To the same, for mending an old lock, and making a new key for the same, 7*s.* 5½*d.*

‘*Lead, Glass, and Tin.*—To Robert Morton, for nine carrats four wagers and four claves of lead, bought for the aforesaid works, price per carrat 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, 62*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*

To John Brampton, for ninety-seven feet of white glass, wrought with flowers and bordered with the King's arms, for the window of the aforesaid tower, at 1*s.* 1*d.* per foot, 5*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*

To the same, for forty-two feet of white glass, bought for the windows of the hall, and other houses at the same place, at 1*s.* per foot, 2*l.* 2*s.*

To Robert Peutrer, for 54lbs. of tin, bought to make solder, 13*s.* 4*d.*

To Robert Ryder, for "1 morteyis eris, empt. pro femorar. parvæ aulæ," weight 7lbs., at 4*d.* per lb., 2*s.* 4*d.*

To Richard Glover, for 500 reeds or canes, at 16*d.* per 100, 6*s.* 8*d.*

To John Grafton, for one dozen of parchment, bought for the clerks' and controller's accounts, 4*s.*

To the same, for two quaterns of paper and two bags, bought for the same accounts, 1*s.* 9*d.*

To Robert atte Pytte, for 300 fish-sounds, for the carpenters, at 2*s.* 3*d.* per 100, 6*s.* 9*d.*

To the same, for straw, bought of Richard Rook and William Ussheborne, for making a certain wall at the mill, 18*s.* 8*d.*



To Thomas Freman, for 380lbs. of ochre, bought for a certain cloister, at  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb., 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

To the same, for 24lbs. of verdigris, bought for the same, and for the chambers of the aforesaid tower, at 8*d.* per lb. 16*s.*

To the same, for two flagons of oil, for the same works, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per flagon, 5*s.*

To the same, for cole, powder, chalk, “oll’ et aliis instrument.” 3*s.* 5*d.*

To William Wynchester, for resin and wax, bought to make cement for the masons, 2*s.*

To Robert atte Pytte, for one cord “pro Wyron,” for a windlass, 9*d.*

To Robert Rop, for one great cord, bought for a certain engine, weight 42lbs. at  $1\frac{3}{4}d.$  per lb., 6*s.* 1*½d.*

To John Asshehurst, for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. of “talwod,” bought for the plumbers’ work, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per cwt., 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

To the same, for three hundred of fagots, bought for the same, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per hundred, 10*s.* 6*d.*

‘*Necessaries.*—To Ralph Gybbe, for 120 “trayeis ligneis,” [probably hand-barrows] bought for carrying stone and mortar, price 3*d.* each, 1*l.* 10*s.*

To Robert atte Pytte, for four “boll” [bowls], bought for making mortar, price 3*d.* each, 1*s.*

To the same, for four sieves, bought for sifting mortar, at 4*d.* each, 1*s.* 4*d.*

To Alexander Couper, for four buckets, bought to carry water, at 6*d.* each, 2*s.*

‘*Freightage, Carriage, and Boatage.*—To Richard Mersshe-man, Adam Sengle, Hugh Duet, and John Elys, for the freightage of thirty-four boat-loads of stone, viz. ashler, “urnelt,” and rag, (bought of the aforesaid William Gret-ing, Simon atte Hall, Maurice Yong, and William atte

Barre,) from Maidstone to Westminster, at 20s. per boat-load, 34*l*.

To William Steven, William Scantylon, Matthew Watergate, and Richard atte Vyne, for the freightage of thirty-eight boat-loads of the same stone, at 18s. per boat-load, 34*l*. 4*s*.

To John Gold, John Fox, and Robert Maundevyl, for the freightage of eighteen boat-loads of the same stone, at 17*s*. per load, 15*l*. 6*s*.

To John Asshelyn, for the freightage of four boat-loads of the same stone, at 16s. per load, 3*l*. 4*s*.

To John Fynche, for the boatage of twenty-one boat-loads of the same Reygate stone, from Battersey to Westminster, at 1*s*. per load, 1*l*. 1*s*.

To Philip Strotter, of Kyngeston, for the boatage of 10,000 tiles and three pieces of timber from London to Westminster, 6*s*. 8*d*.

To Thomas Chamberlayn, for the carriage of 5,500 shingles from Croydon to Lambeth, 6*s*. 8*d*.

To Richard Joye, for the boatage of the same from Lambeth to Westminster, 1*s*.

For the boatage of 10,000 plain tiles, (bought of Robert Wheler, of Wandsworth,) to Westminster, 3*s*. 4*d*.

And for the carriage of fifty-seven cart loads of timber, bought of John Bythewode, of Reygate, to Croydon, and from Croydon to Lambeth, 10*l*.

To John Podenhale and Robert Podenhale, for the boatage of fifty-six pieces of the same timber, from Lambeth to Westminster, with two "*shouts*," 11*s*. 8*d*.

To Robert Holman, for the boatage of 160 hurdles, bought of William Segstane, from Deptford to Westminster, at two trips, 5*s*. 4*d*.

To Henry Clerc, for the carriage of one bed for the King

—"unius lecti regis,"—from Windsor to Westminster, 2*s.* 8*d.*

For the carriage of timber, boards, scaffold logs, and other necessities, from London to Westminster, 1*l.*

Total amount for things purchased, 673*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*

*' Payments for Wages.*

*' Masons.*—To Henry de Yeveley, mason, director of the works, for his wages, from Sept. 28, an. 39, to Sept. 27, in the following year, viz. for 364 days, at 1*s.* per day, 18*l.* 4*s.*

To William Winchester, mason, and—"apparator operantium,"—director of the masons' work, for the same time, at 6*d.* per day, 9*l.* 2*s.*

Many other masons were employed during the same period, some at 6*d.* and others at 5*d.* per day, on works at the tower, near the King's garden, and at the hall. The total amount of the masons' wages was 122*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

*' Carpenters.*—To Master William Herland, master carpenter, or his wages for the above time, at 1*s.* per day, 18*l.* 4*s.*

To Hugh Herland, carpenter, and—"apparator operantium, et ordinator operis carpent." for the same period, at 8*d.* per day, 12*l.* 2*s.*

With these a considerable number of carpenters were employed on the above works, during the same time, at wages varying from 6*d.* to 3*d.* per day. Carpenters' wages in all, 72*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.*

Two *sawyers* only appear to have been employed in sawing timber for these works, in the summer at 5½*d.*, and in the winter at 5*d.* per day: the amount of their wages for the whole time they were engaged in the year was 2*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

A few *plumbers* were employed at 7*d.* and 6*d.* per day: their wages for the whole time being 3*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.*



Eight *glaziers* were employed in mending windows, for eight days, at 7*d.* per day; and another glazier for twenty-nine days, at 5*d.* per day: wages in all, 16*s.* 9*d.*

Several *plasterers* were employed, at from 4*d.* to 7*d.* per day; two *lath-renders*, at 5*d.* and 4½*d.* per day; one *tiler* at 6*d.* and another at 5*d.* per day: their wages in all amounted to 3*l.* 1*s.* 10½*d.*

‘To one “*arundinarius*” (reed-coverer or thatcher), working on two dove-houses, at the Mews, and two lodges for the masons, 11½ days, at 5*d.* per day, 4*s.* 9½*d.*

To one “*daubator*,” (working on the repair of the walls of divers houses,) six days, at 4*d.* per day, 2*s.*

To several others, for the same kind of work, from 5*d.* to 3½*d.* per day: in all 1*l.* 5*s.*

To one *wall-builder*, working on a certain wall near the mill, 31 days, at 4*d.* per day; and to another working forty-four days, at 3½*d.* per day, was paid 1*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.*

To twenty-one “*fossatores*” (diggers or excavators), working on the digging of a certain ditch round the tower near the King’s garden, nine days, and two others working ten days and half, all at 4*d.* per day, 3*l.* 10*s.*

To labourers of various descriptions was paid 50*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*; and to carriers or carters, working at 10*d.* per day, 24*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Total amount of wages, 275*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.*

Several masons, tilers, &c. were paid for task, or job-work, in all 98*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

One gardener working in the King’s garden, at 6*d.* per day, received 2*s.* 6*d.*; and another at 4*d.* per day, 2*s.*; and Robert Gardener, for various seeds, rods, cuttings or offsets, and turf, with carriage of the same, received 3*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

‘*Payments by Warrant.*—To Richard de Armis, pro expensis factis pro minatoribus operant. in eccles. S<sup>i</sup>. Martini in

campis et eorum instrumentor. empt. per precept. regis,  
3*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*\*

To William de Ussheborne, for provisions bought for the  
cocks, hens, and other poultry, belonging to the king, in  
his custody, 13*s.* 4*d.*

To John Brettewyl, for providing the king's linen [napery],  
viz. napkins, towels, and hutches, during the time of this  
account, 1*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*

To Alan Prest, for mats bought for the king's chamber,  
1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Amount of the above, 7*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

‘*Payments to Officers.*—William de Sleford, clerk of the  
works, 18*l.* 4*s.*

Adam de Chesterfeld, controller, 9*l.* 2*s.*

Thomas Chamberlayn, provisor, 6*l.* 16*s.*

Robert atte Pytte, surveyor of the labourers and keeper of  
the tools, 5*l.* 4*s.*

Amount paid to officers, 38*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*

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We must now return to the early part of Edward the Third's  
reign, for the purpose of inserting the particulars of an  
‘Account of William de Kelleseye, clerk of the works at the  
Palace of Westminster and the Tower of London,’ &c. which  
is entered on the Chancellor's Roll of the 2d year of that  
monarch, and preserved in the British Museum. Wm. de  
Kelleseye was appointed, on the 3d of January, 1329, at ‘the  
same wages and fees which had been received by William de

\* An idea appears to have been entertained about this time, that a considerable quantity of treasure was concealed somewhere within the precincts of St. Martin's Church.—In the 31st of Edward III. (anno 1357) the king granted the sum of *three halfpence* a day for life, to Richard de Banewell, a carpenter, who had been disabled during the repairs at Westminster. Vide “Cal. Rot. Patent.” page 166 a.

Chaillou, his predecessor;’ and he was invested with office by Richard de Pembroke, the controller, three days afterwards. The account commences on the 6th of January in the above year, and is continued to the 2d day of August following. During that time, the sums received by Wm. de Kelleseye, from the treasurer and chamberlain, amounted to 40*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The expenditure for the works at the Palace—“*misæ infra palatium*,”—was as follows:—

‘ For sixty-one pieces of large and small timber, bought at different prices, for the repair of the great bridge of the said palace; and for an inclosure—“*quodam interclauso*” —before the door of the King’s lower chapel, newly constructed, 101*s.* 4*d.*

For 3,300 shingles—“*cindut*,”—bought for the covering—“*pro co-operatura domus scaccarii*,”—of the Exchequer-house, 30*s.* 9½*d.*

For 6,000 shingle-nails, for the same, 7*s.* 6*d.*

For 30 estrich-boards, bought for making an inclosure and two windows opposite the door of the aforesaid chapel, &c., 5*s.*

For 300 board-nails, for the same, 7*d.*

For two “*vertineft*,” with two “*gumphis*” [hinges and latches?], for hanging the door of the inclosure, 8*d.*

For 100 sprig-nails for the same works, 4*d.*

For two cords [cables?] bought for drawing and raising the old and new timber, for a certain ram for driving piles in the water, for the greater security of the bridge before-mentioned, 4*s.* 10*d.*

For a piece of “*seliskyn*,” bought for the same ram, to be suspended by iron hooks, to facilitate the raising and falling of the ram; and for other articles, for the same purpose, 6*s.* 2*d.*

For the hiring—“*in conductione*,”—of one “*shoute*,” and other boats, to assist in the repair of the bridge, 21*s.* 2*d.*



For the wages of the carpenters working on the repair of the bridge, making the inclosure, and covering the Exchequer-house, 7*l.* 15*d.*

For the wages of labourers and porters, 57*s.* 3*d.*

For the wages of sawyers, 9*s.*

For the wages of pargiters—"muratores,"—working on the making of a wall—"muri lutei"—round the lodge in which the carpenters and other workmen were at work, with straw for the said wall, 4*s.* 2*d.*

For 1000 tiles, for the covering of the Queen's bottle-house in the palace—"pro co-opertura domus botell. dominæ reginæ, in palacio,"—4*s.*

For four cart-loads of sand, for mortar, &c. 4*d.*

For 25 sacks of lime, for mortar, 2*s.* 6*d.*

For 2,000 trestle-pins—"treshelpynnes,"—bought for the same house, 2*d.*

For 200 laths for the same, 14*d.*

For 1,000 lath-nails, 10*d.*

For the wages of tilers, covering the said house, 13*s.* 4*d.*

For three wagers and 16*lbs.* of new lead, (the wager contains 26*lbs.* by the great pound,) bought to cover the top—"cresta,"—of the house of the treasury, 31*s.* 4*d.*

For 200 lead-nails, for the same work, 4*d.*

For the wages of the plumbers, melting the old lead and laying it, together with the new lead, on the top of the house of the treasury, and elsewhere within the Palace, 5*s.* 11½*d.*

For portage and carriage of timber, lead, &c., 11*s.* 3*d.*

For timber to support the vines in the King's garden—"in maeremium pro vineis supponendis, in herbar. R."—18*d.*

Amount 23*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*

' Expenses at the Tower, 4*s.* 5*d.*

23*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*

- ‘ Wages, or salary, of Wm. de Kelleseye, clerk of the works, from Jan 6, 2d Edw. III. to the 2d of August following, at 12*d.* per day, 10*l.* 8*s.*
- ‘ Ditto of Rich. de Pembroke, controller, for the same time, at 6*d.* per day, 5*l.* 4*s.*

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In the Parliament that assembled at Westminster, in November, 1330 (4th Edw. III.), took place the remarkable proceedings against Roger de Mortimer, the overbearing and ambitious favourite of the Queen Dowager; who had been arrested at Nottingham, with the sanction of the young King, and was then a prisoner of state. He was charged with having superseded the authority of the Council appointed at the Parliament held immediately after the coronation, to assist and advise his majesty, and having surrounded him by his own creatures, displacing the officers of the royal household to make room for them; with having caused the late King to be put to death; with appearing in arms with his retainers at the previous parliament at Salisbury, in contravention of an order under the Great Seal which he had himself procured to be issued, in order to prevent other peers from securing themselves against his hostile attacks; with exciting the King to harsh measures against the Earl of Lancaster, and other nobles; with having inveigled the late Earl of Kent into a conspiracy which caused his destruction; with obtaining grants of castles and demesnes belonging to the crown, embezzling the King's treasure, and oppressing the people with various exactions.

For these and other treasons, among which Fabian includes, —“ that he was more secret with Quene Isabel, the kynges mother, than was to Goddes pleasure or the kynges honoure,” —Mortimer was adjudged by the earls, barons, and peers, (judges of parliament,) with the assent of the King, to be drawn

and hanged—"treylene et pendu;"—which sentence the Earl Marshal was directed to put into execution; and the criminal accordingly suffered on the Thursday following the opening of parliament (Nov. 29), at the place called "the Elms."\* His punishment, how greatly soever it was deserved, was scarcely less illegal than the acts of which he was accused, since he was never fairly put on his trial, nor heard at all in his own defence, but condemned by the peers, for crimes not proved by evidence, but stated to be notoriously known to them and the people.†

In the same parliament was put upon his trial Thomas de Berkeley, knight, charged as an accomplice, or accessory in the murder of the late King, which was perpetrated in his castle of Berkeley. The accused pleaded illness and absence from the castle when the assassination took place; and his assertion of innocence and ignorance of the designs of the assassins being accredited by the twelve knights, who were his jurors, he was ultimately acquitted, though committed for a while to the seneschal of the king's house.‡

The animosities which had been excited in the kingdom, and especially among the nobility, by the misgovernment of Edward the Second and his favourites, and the subsequent tyranny and rapine of Roger Mortimer, supported by the faction of the Queen Dowager, did not immediately subside after the fall of that powerful baron. The young King, with

\* There were three places called "the Elms," in former times, viz. the Elms in Smithfield, the Elms at St. Giles's, and the Elms at Tyburn; and they were all places of execution at different periods. Holinshed states that Mortimer suffered at the Elms, "now Tiborne." Vide "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 599.

† "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii. p. 52, 53. The sentence of Mortimer was declared erroneous and annulled, and Roger, his grandson, was restored to his title and estates, in the parliament which met at Westminster in the 28th of Edward III.—Idem, vol. ii. p. 255, 256.

‡ Idem, p. 57 and 62.



a spirit worthy of a great prince, exerted all his influence and authority to preserve the public peace; and among other measures devised for that end, he especially prohibited the bearing of arms during his parliamentary Councils. Thus, on the holding of a Parliament at Westminster, in April 1332, a proclamation was issued strictly forbidding all men, of whatsoever condition or estate, on pain of extreme forfeiture to the King,—“*sur peyne de forfaiture de quant qu’il pourra forfaire devers le Roi*,”—from wearing any hacquetons, breast-plates, swords, long knives, or any other dangerous weapon, either in the city or suburbs of London, or in any place between the city and the Palace of Westminster, or within the Palace itself;—except those persons whom the King had deputed to keep the peace, and the King’s servants: but the earls and barons were permitted to wear their swords in any other place than in the King’s presence, and at the council.\*

Though this ordinance may have prevented the angry nobles from disturbing the tranquillity of the metropolis by the riotous brawls and outrages of their armed retainers, it had but little effect in restraining their own turbulence; a remarkable instance of which occurred in this very Parliament. In the arguing of a long-standing case of dispute between Sir John Grey, of Rotherfield, and Sir William de la Zouche, of Ashby, before the King himself, in the council chamber, both parties used violent language, and at length Sir John Grey became so greatly irritated that he laid his hand upon his dagger, and partly drew it from its sheath. For this disrespect to their sovereign, the two knights were arrested; and whilst Sir William was held to bail, his opponent was committed to the custody of Sir William Clinton. The King requested the advice of the assembled peers on this affair, and their decision was, that they considered Sir William

\* “*Rot. Parl.*” vol. ii. p. 64.

de la Zouche free from blame, but that Sir John Grey ought to be kept in prison during his majesty's pleasure ;—adding, however, an appeal to the royal clemency on behalf of the offender.\*

In a Parliament held at Westminster, on Michaelmas-day 1334 (8th of Edward III.), the King expressed his intention of accompanying Philip de Valois, king of France, on a crusade to the Holy Land; but he was afterwards obliged to abandon that design, through the occurrence of the Scottish and French wars. The following incidental notices of the King's presence at Westminster at the above period, are derived from an Account Roll (vide Cotton MSS. Nero C. viii. fol. 208) in the British Museum.—‘Sept. 21st.: In offerings made by the king at the mass celebrated in his presence on the anniversary of the king, his father, in the conventual church of Westminster, 6*s.* 3*d.*—Sept. 23d.: In alms given to friars of divers mendicant orders in the city of London, meeting the king in procession on his coming to Westminster, in all, 6*l.* 10*s.*—Sept. 25th.: In offerings made by the king at the shrine of St. Edward, in the price of an *ouch*† of

\* Ibid. p. 66. This appeal was not immediately successful, the King declaring that he would consider of it; or, in the words of the record,—“De laquele grace le roi repondi qu’il se voleit aviser.”

† According to Du Cange, the words *an ouch* have been substituted for a *nouch*, which is the true reading;—in a similar way to the corruption of *an adder* from a *nadder*. In Exodus, chap. xxviii. ver. 11, (as well as in other parts of that and the xxxixth chapter,) the term *ouches* appears to be used for the *setting* in which precious stones were held; as thus—“Engrave the two [onyx] stones, with the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them be set in *ouches* of gold.” These were used to fasten the ends of the golden chains upon the shoulder-pieces of the ephod of Aaron; and may consequently be regarded as broaches, or *fibulæ*. Most probably it was a jewel of that description which the king presented at the shrine of St. Edward. *Nouches* are mentioned in the catalogue of the royal jewels, in the Wardrobe Account of the 28th year of Edward I., printed from a

gold, [set] with divers stones, 100*s.*; and at divers reliques in the same church, 7*s.*; and in the price of a cloth of gold, diapered, which was placed over the body of Master Hugh le Sans, who died on the 12th of September, 24*s.*: in all 6*l.* 11*s.*’ In the same MS. (fol. 212), under the date of May the 3d, 10th of Edward III., this entry occurs:—‘ In offerings made by the king at the cross “*Gneyth*,”\* in his Chapel within the Palace at Westminster, on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 5*s.*’ In the following year, also (fol. 213 b.), ‘ offerings were made by the king, at the shrine of St. Edward, in the abbey church of Westminster.’

In a Parliament held at Westminster, in March 1337 (11th of Edward III.), the king, who was then preparing to assert his claim to the crown of France, raised his eldest son Prince Edward, (afterwards the Black Prince,) to the dignities of Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester.† This was

MS. in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Thus, “ *una nouchea auri parva cum Camahuto fusco* ;” and another of a more curious description is thus noticed:—“ *una nouchia auri cum imaginibus Regis et Regine de armis Franc’ cum petraria diversa, precii £130 Turon’.*”—Vide pp. 345 and 353. Ouches were, in former times, frequently bequeathed by will, as may be ascertained from Nicolas’s “ *Testamenta Vetusta*.”

\* Some very curious particulars relating to the *Crux de Gneyth* are inserted in the glossary to the “ *Liber Garderobæ*,” of the 28th of Edward I. It is reputed to have contained a part of the true Cross of our Saviour, and was obtained from the Welsh at Aberconway, by Edward the First, in the year 1283. That king carried this holy relic with him in his progresses and Scottish wars; and it is mentioned in the Inventory taken of his jewels after his decease, at Burgh-on-Sands, in 1307; which has been printed in the Minutes of the Commissioners on Public Records. It was subsequently deposited in St. George’s Chapel at Windsor; to which, apparently, it had been given by Edward III.

† Cornwall had been previously an earldom, held by John of Eltham, the king’s younger brother, who died at St. John’s Town, now Perth, in Scotland, in October 1336.



the first instance of the creation of a duke in England: the investiture of the young prince, who was only in the 7th year of his age, was performed by girding him with a sword. At the same time six earls were created by the king; and on the same day twenty persons of noble birth had the degree of knighthood conferred upon them by the prince, in virtue of his possession of the palatinate of Chester. The royal Palace became a scene of great splendour during the consequent solemnities and banquetings; of which an incidental notice occurs in the Account Roll already quoted (vide p. 204), namely,—‘To Sir John Sturmy, knt. “hostiañ” [doorkeeper] of the king’s hall, as a gift from the king in lieu of divers cloths of gold placed over the king’s head in his hall, at different times this year, viz. on the 16th of March, on which day the king held his great hall at Westminster, and Edward his eldest son was made Duke of Cornwall, &c. 74s.’ The patent of the prince’s creation bears date on the 17th of March.\*

About the end of November in the same year, two cardinals came to this country as ambassadors from the Pope, Benedict XII., whose object was to avert, if possible, the threatened hostilities between England and France. These mediatorial envoys were Peter de Hispania, Cardinal Priest

\* See Barnes’s “History of Edward III.” pp. 45 and 112, from Dugdale and Ashmole. About six years after his investiture as Duke of Cornwall, and during the session of another Parliament which met at Westminster on the 28th of April 1343, the youthful Edward was advanced to the yet higher dignity of Prince of Wales. In the charter of his creation, which is dated May 12th (17th of Edward III.), and still preserved among the records of the Exchequer, it is stated, that by this deed he was appointed to preside over and govern the Principality; with which dignity he was invested by the presentation of a wreath, or coronet, a ring of gold, and a verge or rod of silver. Valuable estates and revenues were at the same time bestowed on the prince, to enable him to support his accumulated honours with becoming splendour and munificence.

of St. Praxedes, and Bertrand de Montfleury (or de Monte Florentio), Cardinal Deacon of S. Maria de Aquiro. They experienced a most honourable reception; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Worcester, Ely, Chichester, and Coventry, and the Corporation of London, going to Shooter's-hill, to meet them on their way from Dover; and the young Prince Edward, the Earl of Warrene, and many other noble persons, advancing to receive them a mile without the city. The king himself met them at the door of the lesser hall of his palace at Westminster, and conducted them into the Painted chamber, where they unfolded the purpose of their embassy; and the English Sovereign agreed to a truce until the assembling of the next Parliament on the morrow after Candlemas day.\*

Though the ostensible object of the pope's agents was to maintain peace and concord between the rival sovereigns, they were also deputed by the pontiff to support and extend, if possible, his influence over the clergy and people of England, and to augment the revenues and emoluments accruing to the church or rather the court of Rome, from this part of Christendom. The cardinals remained here, the guests of King Edward, until the 21st of March, when they embarked at Dover, for the Continent, having "cost the Church of England fifty marks per diem all the time of their stay here."† The attempts of the Pope's agents to fleece the people of England were repeatedly resumed during this reign, and their exactions were so oppressive as to call forth the remonstrances of both the King and the Parliament.‡

\* Anon. Hist. Edw. III. ad finem Hist. Walt. Heminford, ed. à Hearne; Oxon. 1731. Vol. ii. p. 413.

† Barnes, "Hist. Edw. III." p. 120.

‡ See "Fœdera," vol. ii. pp. 4 and 152, Hague edit.; and "Rot. Parl." vol. ii. p. 228.

After the meeting of Parliament, on the 3d of February, 1337-8, King Edward consented to prolong the truce till Midsummer; but, on the French monarch refusing to ratify the conditional agreement for that purpose, he vigorously continued his preparations for war; obtaining large supplies from Parliament, forming alliances with continental states, and publicly asserting his claim to the French crown.\* He also assumed the arms and style of King of France (quartering the French lilies with the English lions), which he caused to be inscribed on the new great seal, made by his direction, on his return from Flanders in February 1339-40; and on the 1st of March, in the presence of the chamberlain, the keeper of the privy seal, and the seneschal of his household, he delivered the said seal to Sir John de St. Paul, in the *Cage Chamber* at Westminster—"in palatio suo apud West-

\* Edward derived his claim to the kingdom of France, from Isabel his mother, the daughter of Philip the Fourth of France. The style adopted on the new seal was, *Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Francie et Anglie et Dominus Hibernie*."—In the above Parliament an application was made by Richard de Bettoyne, who, when mayor of London in 1327, had officiated as butler at the king's coronation, praying a remedy against the Exchequer Court, from which an estreat had been issued against his goods and chattels for the sum of £89. 4s. 6d., as a fee for the articles which he had then received in right of his office. His petition states, 'that he attended the coronation (as other mayors of London had done at former coronations), accompanied by 360 valets, all in one livery, and each carrying a cup of white silver; that the fee appertaining to that duty—"le fee q'appendoit a cel jorne,"—was a cup of gold, with the cover thereof, and an ewer of gold enamelled; and that the same had been delivered to him by Robert de Wodehouse, with the assent of the Earl of Lancaster and other great men—"et d'autres grantz,"—of the king's council.' It was ordered, 'that search be made among the Rolls and Remembrances of the Exchequer in respect to the above application, and if it be found that the mayors of London have been accustomed to receive such fee at former coronations, it should be allowed to the aforesaid Richard, and the demand made upon him quashed.'—See "*Rot. Parl.*" vol. ii. p. 96.



monasterium, videlicet, in quadam camerâ ibidem vocatâ la Cage Chaumbre.”\*

Several changes in the keepership of the Great Seal took place about this period, in the records concerning which the names of different apartments within the Palace are mentioned. On the Friday after the feast of St. Mark (April 28th) 1340, the above John de St. Paul, who was then keeper of the rolls in Chancery, took the Great Seal (inclosed in a purse sealed with his own seal) by the King's direction, to the White Chamber at Westminster (“*la Blaunche Chaumbre* super aquam Thamesis in Palatio suo Westmonasteriensi,”), and there delivered it to his Majesty in the presence of the Earl of Arundel and others. The King himself then carried the seal into a small chamber on the south side of “*la Blaunche Chaumbre*,” and gave it to John (Stratford) Archbishop of Canterbury, who had twice or thrice before been keeper of the seal, and whom he again appointed Chancellor. The Archbishop, having taken the customary oath to execute the duties of his office with fidelity, departed with the Great Seal to his Palace at Lambeth. In the June following, however, on the “King giving him an angry check for that he was apt to be timorous without reason,” he resigned his trust, under the plea of ill-health and inability to discharge the duties which devolved on him.† The

\* “*Fœdera*,” vol. ii. pt. 2, pp. 1115; ed. nov. The *Cage* chamber was probably an *Aviary*. Besides the ‘king's *Cage* chamber,’ there are mentioned in different records relating to the Palace, a ‘*Penthouse*,’ and an ‘*Enclosure towards the King's Kitchen Garden*,’ under the *Cage* Chamber; ‘*Chambers near the Cage Chamber*,’ and a ‘*Sottricer*’ (possibly a sub-terrace), ‘between the King's *Cage* chamber and the Queen's chamber.’

† See Barnes's “*Hist. of Edward III.*” p. 181. Edward being on board his fleet, in the harbour of Orwell, on the coast of Sussex, and about to sail to Flanders, took umbrage at the Archbishop repairing thither in order to advise him “not to adventure to cross the sea,” on account of the strength of

King then ordered that the seal thus surrendered by the Archbishop should be broken, and that a new seal should be made, and placed in the hands of John de St. Paul, as *locum tenens* of Robert Stratford, Bishop of Chichester (the brother of the Archbishop), who was appointed to succeed him. Soon afterwards, on the 12th of July, the new Great Seal was delivered to the Bishop of Chichester, in the Painted Chamber ("*camerâ depictâ*," ) at Westminster, and he carried it thence to his "*Hospitium*," in Chancery-lane.\*

About the end of November the King returned suddenly from France in great dudgeon, in consequence of having been foiled in reducing Tournay (which he had besieged upwards of nine weeks), and also constrained to make a truce with the French monarch. He attributed his ill success to the failure of supplies from England, and almost immediately after his arrival he imprisoned many of the chief officers of the kingdom, judges as well as others, on the charge of embezzling or withholding the subsidies which had been voted to him by Parliament.† He had been compelled indeed, as was strongly expressed in the royal letters written at Westminster, during his subsequent dispute with the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Stratford), to "plunge himself into the devouring gulf of usury," in order to provide sustenance for his army, and pay off his foreign auxiliaries.

the fleet which the French had assembled to oppose his passage. The King, however, persisted in his enterprise, and after one of the most sanguinary engagements that ever was fought upon the ocean, and of upwards of nine hours continuance, he totally defeated the enemy. Full 30,000 men, on both sides, are reported to have perished in the battle.

\* "*Fœdera*," vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 1129. The Bishop's *Hospitium*, or Inn (as his Palace was then called), stood on the west side of Chancery-lane, on the site of the present Chichester-rents and its neighbouring courts.

† Some idea of the mode in which the kingdom was fleeced for carrying on the French wars at this period, may be formed from the general particulars given in Barnes's "*History of Edward III.*" pp. 197, 198.

It had been chiefly through the importunities and under the advice of the Archbishop, that Edward had been induced to enforce his claim to the French crown, and he was now extremely indignant at the apparent desertion of the Archbishop, who, to avoid the effects of the King's anger, withdrew to Canterbury, and, entrenching himself under the privileges of the church, refused to answer for his conduct unless in full Parliament. For a while he openly defied the King's power, and even proceeded to promulgate sentences of excommunication and monition (in his own cathedral), "with the dreadful ceremony of bell, book and candle, the bells ringing dolefully, and the candles being suddenly extinguished with a stench," against all such as should disturb the peace of the kingdom, violate the liberties of the church, or prefer false accusations against an Archbishop or any other Bishop of his province; and he commanded all his suffragans to publish the same.\*

Although the King was greatly irritated at the Archbishop's contumacy, he thought it expedient to summon a Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 9th of April, 1341; and the Archbishop, in order to be present, "came secretly to London, and repaired to the Bishops of London and Chichester, by whom he was conveyed to the King's Palace, where the Parliament sat, with a great company of clergymen and soldiers."† But he was forbidden entrance, in the King's name, until he had promised to return an answer in the Exchequer, to the charges which had been urged against him. Some delay occurred in the proceedings, and he was again forbidden to enter Parliament by the Captain of the King's Guard (Sir William Atte-wood); on which he took his cross into his own hands and solemnly protested, "that

\* Vide Barnes's "Edward III." p. 214.

† Idem, p. 232.



he would not stir from that place till the King gave him leave to come into Parliament, or a sufficient reason why he should not.”\* Whilst thus occupied, he was reviled by the bystanders, “as a traitor who had deceived the King and betrayed the realm.” He replied with vehemence, “The curse of Almighty God and of his Blessed Mother, and of St. Thomas, and mine also, be upon the heads of those who inform the King so, Amen, Amen.” This singular scene was terminated by the interposition of some of the nobles, who prevailed on the King to admit the Archbishop into the Parliament; where his case was eventually referred to the decision of twelve peers, viz. four bishops, four earls, and four barons. No judgment was, however, given; for “on the 19th of April, being a Thursday, the King came into St. Edward’s Chamber, commonly called the Painted Chamber, before whom, in sight of all the Lords and Commons, the Archbishop humbled himself, and required his gracious pardon; which, upon the whole Parliament’s general suit and entreaty, his Majesty granted.” Shortly afterwards, “without any more accusation or answer, the King, of his own accord, declared him legally purged and excused, and ever after held him more dear than before.”†

Pardons under the Great Seal were sometimes granted by Edward the Third, to offenders against the laws, by his own personal authority, without the concurrence of his acknowledged ministers; of which the following are instances. In 1342, on the 16th of May, Sir Robert Parnyng, the Chancellor, delivered the seal to the King, by his special command, “in quâdam camerâ suâ infra palatium Westmonasteriensi super aquam situatâ;” and the King, opening

\* Barnes’s “Edward III.” p. 233.

† Ibid. See also “Anglia Sacra,” vol. i. p. 38, &c.

the purse in which it was contained, gave the seal to Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, and William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, who immediately affixed it to divers charters of pardon to persons accused of homicide, in order to stop proceedings against them; but those charters were not, as customary, formally enrolled. The seal was then returned to the Chancellor, to be kept by him as before.\* In the following year, on Michaelmas day, a similar scene took place (most probably in the same apartment, the official words being, “in novâ camerâ suâ Westmonasteriersi super aquam situatâ”), the Great Seal being surrendered to the King by John de Thoresby and John de St. Paul, its keepers, and given, by his direction, to Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who sealed with it five charters of pardon for alleged felonies. The King then gave the seal to Robert de Sadyngton, who took the oath of office as Chancellor, in the royal presence.†

The tyranny and oppression to which the people of England were exposed, from the manner in which the authority of the Pope was exerted in favour of foreign ecclesiastics who resorted to this country in the reign of Edward the Third, provoked the repeated remonstrances of the King and Parliament. In an assembly of the latter at Westminster, in April 1343, the Commons complained to his Majesty that the realm was impoverished through the usurpations and exactions of the emissaries of the court of Rome; and the King promised his aid and influence in support of any reasonable measures they might adopt to check this growing evil. In consequence of this, the temporal Peers and the members of the House of Commons addressed a letter to Pope Clement VI.,

\* “*Fœdera*,” vol. iii part ii p. 1194, from the Close Rolls.

† *Id.* p. 1236.

complaining, "that divers reservations, provisions, and collations, by his apostolic predecessors of the church of Rome, and by the most holy father himself, had been granted (and now more largely than heretofore,) unto divers persons, as well strangers and of other nations, as to some who are our professed enemies, and who have little or no understanding, at all, of our language, and of the conditions and customs of those of whom they have the government and cure." After stating the evils arising from these abuses, they inform his Holiness, that they "neither can nor ought any longer to suffer or endure them;" and therefore entreat him, without delay, to provide "remedy, correction, and amendment of the enormities specified."\*

This spirited remonstrance of the English Nobles and Commons, dated Westminster, May 18, 1343, was delivered to the Pope, at Avignon, by Sir John de Shoreditch, their agent or envoy, who is characterised by Barnes, as "a man of great gravity and deep knowledge of the law." Answers were returned in letters from the Pope both to the King and to his counsellors, which were by no means satisfactory; and King Edward not only reiterated the complaints of the Parliament, in an epistle to Pope Clement, from Westminster, September 10, 1343, but also proceeded to forbid the practice of collations and provisions in his realm, on pain of imprisonment and death.†

By a writ of liberate, tested by the King at Westminster, on the 10th of October, 1345, the sum of sixpence per day for life was granted to Coursus de Gangeland, apothecary, of London, for attending him in his illness during an expedition into Scotland in that year. Another grant (under the Privy

\* Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." pp. 273, 274.

† "Foedera," vol. ii. p. 1223, 1233, new edit.: "Rot. Parl." v. ii. pp. 141, 145; Holinshed's "Chronicle," v. ii. pp. 626, 627.



Seal), also tested by the King at Westminster, was made on the 22d of February, 1346, of ten pounds yearly, to Isolde Neweman, the nurse of John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth son.\*

Several important documents were tested by the King, in his Palace at Westminster, in the early part of the year 1348; among which, on February the 14th, was a writ of summons to Edward (Baliol) King of Scotland, to attend a Parliament thereat in the following Lent.† During the Easter holidays in 1348, King Edward held a grand *Tournment* at Westminster, where William Earl Douglas, and Sir William Douglas, called the Knight of Liddesdale, (who had been prisoners in England since the battle of Nevill's-Cross, in 1346,) were permitted to display their skill in *jousting*; and they distinguished themselves so much by their knightly bearing and courage, that the King was induced to allow them to return home, after binding them by oath not to take up arms against England.‡

A dreadful plague, or pestilence, devastated England and other countries in the years 1348 and 1349, and raged with peculiar violence in London, Westminster, and the neighbouring places. In consequence of this calamity the Parliament, which had been summoned to meet at Westminster

\* "Foedera," vol. iii. part 1. p. 61, and p. 70. It was not unusual to provide for those who had been nurses to the children of the sovereign, as may be seen from the Close and Patent Rolls of different reigns.

† Vide "Foedera," idem, p. 153.

‡ Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." p. 419. A more magnificent festival of the same description was celebrated about the same time at Windsor Castle, in honour of the Institution of the Order of the Garter. The Chapel Royal of St. George, at Windsor, now founded in connexion with this Order, was endowed with various estates and benefices, by charter, dated at Westminster, August 6, 1348. Id. p. 442, where a translation of the charter is given: it has likewise been published by Ashmole, from the Patent Rolls, in his "History of the Order of the Garter."

on the Monday after the feast of St. Hilary, 1349, was prorogued to the quindene of Easter following; but the pestilence still continuing, so as to render the assemblage of the Peers and Commons highly hazardous, a further prorogation (by writ dated at Westminster on the 10th of March,) took place for an indeterminate period. In August or September the plague ceased, after the metropolis had been exposed to its ravages about twelve months. Fifty thousand persons who died at this time are said to have been buried on the site of the Charterhouse, which was then purchased by Sir Walter Manny, and constituted a public cemetery, in connection with which was founded a Carthusian monastery.\*

The victories obtained by Edward the Third in his wars against the Kings of France and Scotland, and the high reputation he had acquired among the European princes by his talents and policy, occasioned his being chosen as umpire, or president, of a court of chivalry, before which was decided a dispute between two foreign knights of great distinction. In the war which was carried on at this period between the Christians and Mahometans in Asia, where the King of Armenia, assisted by the Cypriotes and the Rhodians, defended his dominions against the invasion of the Sultan of Babylon, these knights held important commands. One of them, named John de Visconti, was related to Hugh,

\* In a proclamation dated at Westminster on December the 1st, 1349, "*De non permittendo, causâ pestilentie, fugientes transire ad partes externas:*" addressed to the magistrates of all the English ports, it is stated that no inconsiderable portion of the people of England had died of this pestilence. In another proclamation dated at the same place, on the 18th of June, 1350, relative to the increase of wages and prices of goods, the said increase is attributed to the death, from the late pestilence, of a great part of the people, especially labourers and servants. Vide "*Fœdera*," vol. iii. part i. pp. 191—199.

King of Cyprus, and the other, called Thomas de la Marche, was a natural son of the late King of France, Philip de Valois. The latter was accused by Visconti of various crimes and treasons, in that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the King of Sicily, in whose service he was engaged; and that he had forged certain letters, and been guilty of perjury. All this De la Marche flatly denied, as false and scandalous, and challenged the appellant to single combat. Both parties, by the advice of their comrades, agreed to refer their dispute to the King of England, "as the most worthy and honourable Prince in all Christendom." These knights came to England in the beginning of September, 1350; and presented to King Edward letters from the Kings of Armenia and Cyprus, and other Princes and Captains who commanded in the war with the Infidels, containing a statement of the charges alleged and the replication, and entreating that he would grant them the *Trial by Battle* in his royal presence. The King consented, and the usual formalities having taken place, he "set them a day, namely, the 4th of October, being the Monday after St. Michael, wherein to decide their quarrel in close field, within the *Lists*, at his Palace of Westminster."\*

On the day appointed the combatants made their appearance in the lists, armed at all points, on horseback; the King, the Prince of Wales, many of the nobility, and a vast number of people being present. Then the customary oaths having been administered to them, and other preliminaries adjusted, they made ready to begin the combat. And immediately Sir John, throwing aside his lance and shield, leaped from his horse; which the other observing, alighted also, and they bravely waged the contest on foot.

\* Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." p. 453.



In the first struggle Sir John was thrown down, but he instantly sprung up, and renewed the battle; fighting bravely till he again sunk down beneath the blows of his opponent, who was about to terminate the combat by putting him to death. But the King taking compassion on the fallen knight, and yielding to the requests of his nobles, determined to save his life, and commanded Sir Thomas to pursue his advantage no further. The latter, who had received no injury, was then proclaimed conqueror, adjudged free from the charges brought against him, and, agreeably to the compact made before the engagement, the vanquished knight was delivered up to him as his prisoner.

Such are the circumstances of this judicial combat, as described in a state paper, "*De Duello inter T. de la Marche, bastardum Franciæ nuncupatum, et Johannem Viscount;*"\* drawn up probably by the King's direction, to be transmitted to foreign courts. Stow, who has been followed by Barnes in his account of this affair, notices a circumstance not mentioned in the record, to which the French knight may have been indebted for his success. "After that they had runne at the tilte,† and fought on foote, as they were striuing together on the ground, with certaine prickes both short and sharpe, then called gadlings, being closed in the ioyntes of his right gauntlet, the said Thomas stroke the said John in the face, and sore wounded him; but, on the other side, John had no such short kinde of weapon wherewith he might hurt Thomas' face, and therefore cryed out aloude most horribly, whereupon by the King's commaundement the combat was ended, and the victorie adiudged to Thomas, who

\* "*Fœdera*," vol. iii. part 1. p. 205, ed. nov. 1825.

† This is a mistake; there was no *tilting*, the combatants fighting on foot.

gaue the said John, being thus overcome, to the Prince of Wales for a captiue, and offered vppe his owne armour to Sainte George, in St. Paul's Church, at London, with great deuotion."\*

No Parliament had been held during the years 1349 and 1350, on account of the pestilence; but in the beginning of 1351, the King issued writs for the assembling of the Peers and Commons at Westminster in the ensuing month of February. The commission for authorising the King's son Lionel to open the Parliament, was read, "en la Chaumbre Blaunche pres de la Chaumbre Peynte."† During the consequent session, "the old controversie between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, concerning the bearing of their Crosiers, began to be renewed with the usual heat; but at last was wholly referred to the King's hearing, who set down this final rule to be observed for the future, viz. "That the Archbishop of York might bear his Cross in the other's presence, saving the pre-eminence to Canterbury; but that in token of subjection, every Archbishop of York, at his entrance into that bishoprick, should offer an image of gold to the value of forty pounds at the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury. The same image to be sent by some knight, or Doctor of the law, within the space of two months after his inthronization."‡

In another Parliament, held in January, 1351-1352, it was proposed in the opening speech of the Chief Justice, that a deputation of the Commons, of twenty-four or thirty persons, should attend the King in the *Painted Chamber*, "Chaumbre de Peinte," to have explained to them the occa-

\* Stow's "Chronicle," Ed. 1600, p. 392.

† "Rot. Parl." xxv Edw. III. vol. ii. p. 225.

‡ Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." p. 456.

sion of the Parliament being summoned, whilst the remainder of the Commons should withdraw to the *Chapter-house* of Westminster, “se trehissent el Chapitre de Westm’r,” and there await the return of their companions. The Commons refused to agree to this arrangement; but two days after the whole body attended Prince Lionel, “et les autres grantz,” in the *White Chamber*, where their advice was requested as to what was proper to be done in respect to the contest with France.\*

In 1352, King Edward kept the festival of Whitsuntide at Westminster, where he splendidly entertained his principal nobles, and those French and Scottish Lords and Captains of distinction who were then prisoners of war in England. The honour of knighthood was on that occasion bestowed on the younger brother of Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, and three hundred more young gentlemen; and Charles de Blois, one of the competitors for the Duchy of Bretagne, who had been a captive in England about four years, obtained permission to go to France to raise money for his ransom.

Among the records belonging to the King’s Remembrancer’s Office, is a wardrobe account of John de Bukyngham, for the 27th year of Edward the Third (anno 1353), of which the following details of the expenses at the Palace for two days in the month of June, are given as a specimen.

‘Wednesday, June 5. Charges of the steward’s office, 25s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; butlery, 4l. 2s. 4d.; wardrobe charges, 55s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; cookery, 7l. 19s. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; scullery charges, 17s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; salt provisions, 2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; *pro aula, nichil*; expenses of the stable, 104s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; servants’ wages, 57s. 3d.; alms, 4s. Sum total, 25l. 9s. 2d.

‘Thursday, June 6. Charges of the steward’s office,

\* See “Rot. Parl.” vol. ii. p. 236, 237.



44s.  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; butlery, 26*l.* 3s.  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; wardrobe charges, 24*l.* 13s. 6*d.*; cookery, 39*l.* 18s. 10*d.*; scullery, 12*l.* 6s. 2*d.*; salt provisions, 40s. 10*d.*; hall, 18s.  $0\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; chamber, 22s.  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; expenses of the stable, 103s.  $0\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; servants' wages, 50s.; alms, 4s. Sum total, 117*l.* 4s.  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$

' On this day [sc. June 6], the Dukes of Lancaster and Bretagne, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord J. de Clermont, and other French noblemen, were entertained by the King at Westminster.\*

\* Some idea concerning the manner in which the royal Household was constituted and maintained in the reign of Edward III. may be formed from the following extracts from an account of the "Expenses necessary of officers, and other chardges, concerning the howsholde of the Prince of noble memorie Edward the Third," from the 21st of April in the 18th year of his reign, to the 24th of November in the 21st year (that is, from 1345 to 1348); when Walter Wentwage was treasurer of the household.

"*The King's Clarkes.*—The comptroller of the houshold, coferer, almoynier, clarke of the pantrey and butery, clarke of the spicery, clarke marshall, phisitian, two clarkes of the wardrobe, three clarkes of the privie seale, the receiver of the Kinges chamber, and four other clarkes: every man at two shillinges by the daye. Also 6 chaplens, three of the chappell, the other 3 clarkes of the spicery, th' other clarke of the kytchen, th' other clarke almoynier, and 11 other clarkes, every man at 12*d.* the daye, and amongst them all."

Among the "Officers and mynsteres of the Howse, with their retinewe," were a marshall of the hall, 2 ushers of the hall, 1 usher of the chamber, 6 sewers of the hall, 2 herbergers, 1 sergaunte of the pantry, 3 of the buttery, 3 of the achatry, 1 of the chandery, 1 of the bakehowse, 1 of the ewery, 3 porters, 1 of the salsery, 1 of the larder, 3 herbengeres, 1 of the poultry, 2 ferewrs, [farriers?]; three master cokes, the Quene's butler, 2 potycaries, 1 taylor, 2 officers of armory, 3 armourers, 1 surveior of the dresser, 1 waferer, 1 standard berer of the wardrobe, 27 archeres on horse, 9 yeomen of the Kinge's chamber, 79 yeomen of the offices, and 17 messingers. Under the designation of "*mynstrelles*," are included 5 trompettes, 1 citoler, 5 pipers, 1 taberett, 2 clarions, 1 makerer, 1 fideler, 3 waytes, 3 archers on horse and 3 on foot. There were also no fewer than three hundred and forty-six artificers and workmen belonging to the household at the above period, namely, 24 massons, 138 carpinters, 1 couper, 13 smythes, 57 ingyners, 24 pavillioners, 60 marynors, 7 armorers, 6

In 1353, the road from London to Westminster had become so dangerous for the transit of passengers or carriage of goods, as to demand the interference of government. A mandate was therefore directed in the name of the King and the Council (dated Westminster, November 20), to John de Bedeford, of London, appointing him Commissioner for the paving of the road in question. This instrument recites, that the highway leading from the gate called Temple-bar, London, to the door of Westminster Abbey, by the frequent passage of carts, horses, merchandize, and provisions, to the *staple* at Westminster, ever since its establishment, had become so deep and muddy, and the pavement—"pavagium"—so much injured and broken, that unless soon repaired, great perils must be incurred by the passage both of men and of carriages. In order to remedy this evil therefore, it was ordained that the foot pavement adjoining to the houses on the line of the road, should be newly laid at the expense of the owners of the nearest houses; and that money should be levied by tolls on goods sold at the staple, to defray the charge of paving the road between the kennels on each side, and of constructing a *Bridge* at the Palace of Westminster for the convenience and advantage of the merchants trading at the staple.\* An important ordinance relating to the staple was promulgated in "a great Council," at Westminster, held in September 1354.†

Among the most memorable events of this reign may be reckoned the arrival in England of John, King of France,

artellers, 6 gonners. Besides these, this ancient record specifies, as members of the King's household, 90 "sergeants at armes with their retenew," and 206 "esquiers of howshold with their retenew;" which included 60 archers on horse and 21 archers on foote. Vide Harleian MS. No. 782, pp. 62—71.

\* "Fœdera," vol. iii. part 1. p. 269: new edit.

† "Rot. Parl." pp. 246—253.

(after he had been taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, on the 19th of September, 1356), and his entertainment at Westminster in the following May. King Edward receiving information that his son, the Black Prince, accompanied by his royal captive, had landed in England and was approaching the metropolis, issued orders for Sir Henry Picard, the Mayor of London,\* to prepare the city pageants, and make arrangements for the reception of the French monarch with a full display of ceremonial honours. The Prince and his train reached London on the Wednesday before Whitsuntide (May the 24th); and at Southwark he was met by above a thousand of the principal citizens on horseback. "King John being clothed in royal apparel, was mounted on a cream-coloured charger, with splendid trappings, in token of sovereignty, and to be more remarkable; the generous Prince of Wales riding by his side on a little black hobby, as one that industriously avoided all suspicion of a triumph."† They took their way over London bridge towards Westminster, and in all the streets through which the procession passed, the citizens displayed to public view their richest property; arches were thrown across the streets, adorned with tapestry, plate, and glittering armour. But (as appears from Knyghton,) "they especially boasted of their warlike furniture, and exposed that day in their shops, windows, and balconies, such an incredible quantity of bows and arrows, shields, helmets, corslets, breast and back plates, coats of mail, gauntlets, vambraces, swords, spears, battle-axes, harness for horses, and other armour both offensive and defensive, that the like

\* This was the Magistrate who, in the year 1363, had the honour to banquet *four Kings* at his own table, in the Vintry; namely, Edward III. King John, David King of Scots, and the King of Cyprus, together with Edward the Black Prince, and a large company of nobles and other distinguished persons.

† Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." p. 526.



had never been seen in memory of man before.”\* The concourse of people that assembled to witness this rare and interesting spectacle was so great, that the cavalcade continued from three o’clock in the morning till high noon, about which time it reached Westminster Hall, where King Edward was seated on his throne, surrounded by his prelates and barons. When the French King entered, he descended from the regal seat, embraced him with tokens of respectful attention, and leading him to partake of a magnificent banquet, entertained him in his Palace for some time as his own guest. The captive monarch was afterwards lodged in the Palace of Savoy,† in the Strand, which was then the property of Henry Duke of Lancaster.

About Midsummer in the same year, King Edward gave audience at Westminster to three Cardinals (who had come to England with a train of 230 horse), two of whom were deputed by Pope Innocent the VIth to negotiate a peace between England and France, and the third to complain against the continuance of the siege of Rennes, in infraction of a late treaty. These envoys, being introduced to the King, as, according to Knyghton, ‘he sat in great and terrible majesty on his throne,’ made their salute ‘in a kind

\* Barnes’s “Hist. Edward III.” p. 526.

† An affecting anecdote relating to King John has been told by Polydore Vergil, as occurring during his residence at the Savoy. Whilst there, he was frequently visited by King Edward himself, as well as by the Queen and other members of the royal family, who were anxious to mitigate his chagrin and divert his mind from regretful contemplations. Seeing their endeavours fail, and that the princely diversions with which he was entertained had little effect upon his sorrow, Edward and his son, with much friendliness, requested him to lay aside his melancholy, and derive consolation from more cheerful thoughts. He answered in the words of the Psalmist, with a mournful smile, “Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terrâ alienâ?” How shall we sing in a strange land?—Vide “Angl. Hist.” L. xix. p. 302.

of adoration;’ but as the Pope’s embassy was not empowered to treat on any point directly connected with the claim of the English monarch to the crown of France, Edward would agree to a truce only, until midsummer day 1359.\*

King Edward kept his Christmas at Westminster in the year 1358, and had for his guests at the banquet-table the captive King of France and David King of Scotland; the latter having come to England to offer his service in the French wars, as well as to propose a treaty of commerce with the English nation.

In October, 1359, the King again invaded France with a vast armament, and during several months despoiled and ravaged that unhappy country with merciless severity. At length, about the end of April, 1360, an awful and appalling storm, which fell on the English army when encamped in the open field near Chartres, made such a strong impression upon Edward’s mind as to the instability of all earthly greatness, that he agreed to a solemn treaty for the final adjustment of his claims to the French throne.† By this

\* This ‘work of peace-making’ was so chargeable, that Knyghton says, ‘the Cardinals had of the clergy of England 4*l.* in the mark, as well of spirituals as of temporals.’ They had even the insolence to demand the annuity of 1000 marks which King John had promised to the see of Rome when he resumed his crown from the hands of the legate Pandulph, but which no sovereign after Hen. III., had ever paid. The King, with a determination worthy of an Englishman, replied, that as he “held his kingdom freely and without subjection to any one but God alone, he would never pay tribute to any mortal whatsoever.” Talleyrand, Cardinal de Perigort, one of the envoys sent by the Pope on this occasion, was an ancestor of the famous Prince Talleyrand of modern times, the late ambassador from Louis Philippe, King of the French, to this country.

† During the tempest, in which “it seemed as if the whole fabrick of Nature was falling to pieces,” the cold was so excessive, and the hailstones of such a prodigious size, that upwards of 6000 horses and nearly 1000 soldiers perished on the field.—Barnes’s “Hist. Edward III.” p. 583.

famous agreement, which has been called both the Treaty of *Renunciation*, from its respective clauses, and of *Bretigny*, from the village where it was signed, King Edward relinquished all claims to the crown of France, on condition (*inter alia*,) that various provinces in that kingdom should be ceded to him in full sovereignty; and that 3,000,000 of crowns of gold (equal to 500,000*l.*), should be paid by France in yearly instalments of 400,000 crowns each. The treaty was signed on the 8th of May; and, within a fortnight afterwards, King John, in an interview with the English monarch, “in the chapel of the Palace at Westminster,” consented to ratify and confirm it, preparatory to his own liberation agreeably to the treaty.\* He was finally set at liberty at Calais on the 16th of the following October.

In January, 1361, a Parliament was held at Westminster, in which all the circumstances and conditions of the late Treaty underwent full discussion, and both Houses expressed their entire satisfaction at the agreements which the King had formed. Upon this the mass in honour of the Holy Trinity was celebrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the abbey church of Westminster; and, after mass, the King and his sons, standing up in presence of the French hostages, “torches being lighted, and crosses held over the eucharist and missal,” witnessed the ceremony of all the English Peers who were present, making oath “*upon the sacred body of our Lord* (super sacrosanctum corpus Dominicum),” to keep the peace and concord which had been agreed on by the two Kings.† On the same day, at Westminster, certain French Lords also swore to observe the

\* Vide Du Chesne, “*Histoire d’Angleterre*,” &c. p. 692, ed. 3, 1641.

† Edward himself had previously taken the sacrament to keep the treaty, in concurrence with the King of France, on restoring him to freedom at Calais.



terms of the late treaty; and thus, says the annalist, “was peace restored between the two kingdoms.”\*

On the 16th of April, 1361, divers precepts tested by the King at Westminster, were directed to the Sheriffs and Justices, commanding them to arrest all such artificers as had deserted the King’s service in search of better wages, and subjecting their employers to forfeiture of their property.†

In 1362, the King, by his charters of creation and explanation (dated at Westminster on the 19th of July, bestowed the principality of Aquitaine on his eldest son, Edward the Black Prince; to be held, in lieu of all service, by the annual payment of an ounce of gold at the Palace of Westminster.‡ The ceremonies of investiture and homage were performed in the Palace on the same day.

On the 13th of October following, a Parliament was commenced at Westminster, which continued its sittings until the festival of St. Brice (November the 13th), which being the King’s natal day, and that on which he had completed the 50th year of his age, he now kept as a Jubilee. On this occasion his three sons, viz. Lionel of Antwerp (who was then in Ireland), John of Gaunt, and Edmund of Langley, were advanced, in full Parliament, to the respective dignities of Duke of Clarence, Duke of Lancaster, and Earl of Cambridge; the King himself girding on the swords of the two latter Princes with his own hands. He also, according to Holinshed, “shewed himselfe more gracious to his people, granting pardon to offenders, and revoking outlawes.” In this Parliament a very important improvement was effected

\* Contin. Adam Murimuth, pp. 113, 114. Oxon. 1722.

† Vide “*Fœdera*,” vol. iii. part ii. pp. 613, 614; edit. 1830.

‡ A well-executed engraved copy of the principal charter has been given in the “*Fœdera*,” vol. iii. part ii. Edward’s attached Great Seal is very beautiful.

in the administration of the laws, by the statute which directed that legal proceedings should be conducted in future in the English language, instead of the French, which had been used in our courts of law since the reign of the Norman William.\*

A Parliament was held at Westminster in May, 1366, in which the continual exactions of the Papal See became the subject of much discussion, and particularly the renewed claim by the Pope, Urban the Vth, to the annual tribute of 1,000 marks which King John had been ignominiously compelled to assign for the restitution of his crown by Pandulph. It had been threatened to cite the King to the court of Rome, for the purpose of enforcing the demand; and Edward now requested the advice of his Parliament as to the course he should pursue should the citation issue. The prelates requested to delay their answer until the next day; but they then, for themselves, and conjointly with the temporal Peers and the Commons, declared, "that neither King John, nor any other sovereign, could reduce the realm to such subjection, without the assent of Parliament, which had not been given; and that should the Pope, either by process or otherwise, attempt to enforce the same, the King and all his subjects should oppose and resist it to the utmost of their power.† During this Parliament the

\* "Rot. Parl." vol. ii. p. 273. Fabyan says, "About this tyme was an ordenaunce and statute made, that sergeantes and prentyses of the lawe shulde plede theyr plees in thyr moder tonge; *but that stode but a shorte while.*"—"Chronicles," p. 476, 1811, 4to.

† "Rot. Parl." vol. ii. p. 290. Barnes states (referring for his authority to "MS. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. c. 232."), that the King "was so moved at the insolence of the thing, that over and above, he caused it now to be ordained, that from that time forward *St. Peter's pence* should not be paid;" which had been first granted to the See of Rome by Ina King of the West Saxons, about the year 675, in consideration of an English school to be con-

prelates and barons sat in the White Chamber, and the Commons in the Painted Chamber.

It is stated in the "*Anglia Sacra*," (vol. i. p. 120,) that Simon Langham, who had been promoted to the See of Canterbury in 1366, was admitted by the King to the temporalities of that See, at the Palace of Westminster, on November the 5th, having received the pall, in St. Stephen's chapel, on the previous day.

The conditions of peace stipulated between England and France, by the treaty of Bretigny, were but imperfectly fulfilled on either side, particularly after the death of King John, which took place on the 8th of April, 1364, at the Savoy Palace, which had been assigned for his residence on his return to England in the beginning of that year; and from whence, according to Froissart, "he went as often as he pleased, privately by water, to visit King Edward at his Palace of Westminster." At length, in 1369, the two nations were again involved in war; and Edward resumed the title of King of France, by the consent and advice of his Parliament, which had assembled at Westminster in the octaves of the Trinity. A new Great Seal, Privy Seal, and various other official seals were then ordered to be made forthwith, and thenceforth used in the respective offices from the 11th of June next ensuing.\*

Scarcely had the war been recommenced than the King experienced a heavy loss in the decease of Philippa, his consort, who

tinued at Rome for ever. "*Hist. Edward III.*" p. 670. Fabyan, who mentions the same fact, of the abolition of the payment of "*Peter penyes* by Edward the Third, adds, "but how so at that dayes was than by the Kyng forbodyn, yet neverthelesse at this present tyme and season they be gaderyd in sondry shyres of Englande." Vide "*Chronicles*," p. 477; edit. 1811.

\* "*Foedera*," vol. iii. part ii. p. 868. See also "*Rot. Parl.*" vol. ii. p. 460, and Sir Harris Nicolas's "*Chronology of History*," p. 300.



died at Windsor, on the 15th of August, 1369; and agreeably to her last request, was buried in the Abbey church at Westminster; near the spot which Edward, about ten years previously, had chosen for the place of his own sepulchre, in the chapel of St. Edward the Confessor.\*

During the subsequent years of Edward's reign his former wonted success in war almost entirely deserted him, and from the many untoward events which rapidly succeeded each other, a great part of his continental possessions was wrested from his dominion. The lingering illness of the Black Prince, who had quitted his foreign Principality, and with a vain hope that his native air would restore his health, had returned to England in January 1371,† and the defection of his continental allies, were of the most essential detriment to his affairs. When no longer surrounded by the splendours of victory, the murmurs of his people at the grievous imposts to which they were still subjected became loud and deep; and every additional subsidy that was granted by Parliament, was wrung from them most grudgingly.

One of the last acts of Edward's *public* life (if that phrase be admissible,) was to prepare a vast armament, both of ships and men, for a new invasion of France, and retrieving his recent losses in that country. For this purpose, taking the command in person, he embarked at Sandwich on the 30th of August, 1372; but the winds were adverse to his expedition, and after vainly stemming the seas during several weeks, he was compelled to abandon his enterprize and return to England.

\* Vide MS. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. c. 230; as quoted in Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." p. 564.

† Losing all hopes of recovery, the Prince finally surrendered the Principality of Aquitaine to his father, on the 5th of October, 1372. See "Fœdera," vol. iii. part 2, p. 974.

The following particulars relating to a transfer of the Great Seal shortly before the King sailed, are derived from a memorandum entered on the Close Rolls, and thence copied into the "Fœdera." It is the earliest document that has occurred to us in which the *Star Chamber* at Westminster is expressly mentioned; but there is not any authority for supposing that the *court* of Star Chamber existed at that period.

"Sir Robert de Thorp, the Chancellor, lying on his death-bed, in a state of extreme weakness, at the hostel of Robert, Bishop of Sarum, in Fleet-street, in the suburbs of London, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, namely, June 29, 1372, perceiving himself to be no longer able to attend to the duties of his office, caused the Great Seal of our Lord the King, which was inclosed, as usual, in a purse, to be secured by the seals of John Knyvet, the King's Chief Justice, and Richard de Ravensere and William de Burstall, clerks of Chancery. The Chancellor dying about one hour before midnight, the Great Seal was the next day taken to Westminster, and delivered to the Lords William de Latymer, the Chamberlain; Richard le Scrop, the Treasurer; and Nicholas de Carreu, keeper of the Privy Seal; in the Star Chamber, "in camerâ stellatâ," of our Lord the King, before three o'clock. The seals of those officers being then affixed to the purse which contained the Great Seal, it was left in the custody of the Treasurer. The King, who was at Henley, received the Great Seal from the Treasurer, on the 5th July, and appointed Sir John Knyvet, Knt. to the vacant office of Chancellor; who, having had the seal delivered to him (after taking the accustomed oath in the King's private chapel, at Henley), on the ensuing day, in the court of Chancery, in the Great Hall at Westminster, opened the

purse containing the seal, and therewith sealed writs, charters, and letters patent.”\*

Considerable dissensions on state affairs, partly arising from the declining state of his health, marked the latter years of the King’s life. Fabyan, speaking of the 50th of Edward’s reign, says, “In this year a great murmur and grudge beganne to sprynge agayne certayne persones as were about y<sup>e</sup> kynge, as the lorde Latimer thenne the kynges great chamberleyne, and other, by whose synystre counsayll the kinge in his age was myslad, and his treasoure mysponded to his great dishonour, and all his trewe subiects great hynderaunce.”† The Commons, at this period, assumed and obtained more power than heretofore, in consequence of the frequent levies on the public purse which they had been called upon to tolerate; and on their petition, in the Parliament which met at Westminster in April, 1376, an Ordinance was made, enjoining that certain bishops, earls, and barons, to the number of ten or twelve, should constitute a Council of state to assist the King; so that no affairs of public interest should be transacted without their concurrence. They also complained in strong terms of the misconduct of *Alice Perrers*, asserting that she was too familiar with the King, and that she and her accomplices had caused many evils to the realm.

This beautiful woman had been one of the damsels, or maids of honour, to Queen Philippa, and was now, in the evening of his days, and when his infirmities had almost reduced him to a state of dotage, become the object of Edward’s love; and to her honour, in the chivalric spirit of the age, he held a splendid Tournament in Smithfield, in the

\* “*Foedera*,” vol. iii. part 2, p. 951; edit. 1830.

† Fabyan’s “*Chronicles*,” p. 486; edit. 1811.



year 1374. On that occasion, under the romantic appellation of the *Lady of the Sun*, she appeared in gorgeous apparel, seated by the King's side in a triumphal chariot, accompanied by many ladies of rank and noble birth, each leading a mounted Knight by his horse's bridle. The procession, which set out from the Tower, was attended by the principal nobility richly accoutred; and many gallant feats of arms were performed by the Knights who entered the lists, which were kept open during seven succeeding days.\*

\* ALICE PERRERS was either the daughter or the grand-daughter (but most probably the latter), of Sir Richard de Perrers, who was several times Sheriff of Essex, and who died in the year 1335. He had been frequently employed by Edward the Second, both in military and in diplomatic affairs, and it was, possibly, through interest derived from these services that Alice owed her appointment as one of the Ladies of the Chamber to Philippa, the consort of Edward the Third, and her consequent introduction to the King. Although no specific allusion to the fact has been made by any contemporary historian, there is strong cause to believe that a personal intimacy had taken place between herself and her royal master, anterior to the Queen's decease; for in the 43d of Edward III. (anno 1368), she obtained a grant of the manor of Ardington, in Berkshire, which had belonged to Mary, late Countess Marshal, the King's aunt ("Cal. Rot. Patent." p. 183); and in the same and the following year, numerous other gifts were made to her, by the King, of manors, lands, &c. in various parts of the kingdom. It was not, however, until after the death of Philippa, that her unbounded influence over the King became generally known. Grant after grant was then made to her with lavish prodigality; and at length, on the 8th of August, 1373, her doting paramour, unmindful, or regardless, of the respect that was due to the memory and virtues of his late consort, conferred on his favourite all the jewels, goods, and chattels which had belonged to the Queen, and been in the possession of Euphemia, the widow of Sir Walter de Heselarton. It was in the following year that Edward so triumphantly exhibited his mistress to the public gaze, as the *Lady of the Sun*.

It was about this period also that the strong interest which Alice took in the affairs of Sir William de Windsor (who, in April, 1375, was re-appointed Lieutenant of Ireland, by her influence with the sovereign), and in other political transactions of the day, became particularly obnoxious to the King's ministers, and especially so to the Duke of Lancaster. Reports highly prejudicial to her

Alice has been represented by historians as a woman of high ambition, but little principle; and there is little doubt of her having influenced the King (who, as Fabyan remarks, "had long time misused her for his concubine,") to her own

integrity, were spread abroad; and in the *Good Parliament*, as it was styled (though somewhat problematically as to its real merits), which met at Westminster in May, 1376, the Commons, in answer to the King's request of a subsidy, said, 'they were aware that the moneys which they had so frequently advanced, as well as the royal treasure itself, were evilly and improperly converted to nefarious purposes, by those who surrounded the King's person.' ("Rot. Parl." vol. ii. p. 323.) At the same time, to use the language of Walsingham ("Hist." p. 195) 'They grievously complained of a most abandoned woman who was too familiar with the King, and of many enormities committed by her and her abettors; alleging that she, overstepping the boundaries of womanhood, and regardless of her sex and frailty, sometimes sat by the King's Justices, and at other times by the Doctors in the Ecclesiastical courts, persuading and dissuading in defence of matters, and requesting things contrary to law and equity, which greatly redounded to the dishonour of the King both at home and abroad; and concluded by praying that she might be wholly removed from him.' This statement is corroborated by the writer of the "Chronicle of Kirkstall." (Cott. MS. Dom. A. xii. fo. 125, who adds, that 'the proceedings against Alice were instigated by the [Black] Prince.'

Although the demand for the dismissal of Alice is not recorded on the Rolls of Parliament, there can be little doubt of the fact, as an Ordinance was passed ("Rot. Parl." vol. ii. p. 329, No. 45,) setting forth, that 'complaint had been made to the King, that certain women had pursued divers causes and quarrels in the King's courts by way of maintenance, and in order to receive part of the sums recovered, which conduct being displeasing to the King, all women, and especially *Alice Perrers*, are forbidden to do the like in future, under penalty, as to the said Alice, both of the forfeiture of her property, and of banishment from the realm—sur peine de quan q' la dite Alice purra forfaire, et d'estre bannitz' hors du roialme."

These proceedings occasioned a temporary separation between the King and his mistress, but shortly afterwards she rejoined him, whilst he was lying ill at Haveryng atte Bower, in Essex; and during the remainder of his life continued to exert her influence over his enfeebled mind on various important affairs of state, to the great umbrage of his council; and particularly in obtaining the restoration of Bishop Wickham to the See of Winchester, of which the tempo-

advantage; as other females, similarly situated, have been known to do even in more recent times. In consequence, however, of the interposition above stated, it was ordained by the Parliament, that ‘no woman should thenceforth

alities were returned to that prelate on the 18th of June, 1377, three days only before the King’s decease, by a precept tested at Westminster in the King’s name. (“*Fœdera*,” vol. iii. part 2, p. 1079.)

It was for her alleged misconduct to her royal master in his dying hours that the character of Alice incurred the most opprobrium; although it is probable that the stated circumstances were much exaggerated. Walsingham, who appears to have been strongly prejudiced against her, says, ‘During the King’s last illness, that shameless harlot, Alice Perrers, continually spake to him of those pleasures to which he was most attached, neither alluding herself to the welfare of his soul, nor permitting others to do so, and continually assuring him that he would recover; until perceiving his voice to fail, his eyes become dim, and the natural warmth leave his body, the infamous jade took his rings from his fingers and departed.’ Stow (“*Chronicle*,” p. 438, edit. 1600), who has enlarged upon this statement, remarks in addition, that “The King being thus at the point of death, was left not only of her the said Alice Piers, but of other the Knights and Esquires who hadde served him, allured more with his gifts than his love.” It was to these circumstances of Edward’s last hours that Gray so finely alluded in his poem of the Bard:—

“Mighty victor, mighty Lord!  
Low on his fun’ral couch he lies,  
No pitying heart, no eye, afford  
A tear to grace his obsequies.”

In respect to the base crime of stealing the rings from the person of the dying monarch, we may, in charity, adopt the opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, who, after stating that “the record against the said Dame proveth no such heinous matter against her,” farther says, “her mishap was, that she was friendly to many, but all were not so to her.” There can be no doubt, however, that strong suspicions were entertained of some of the crown jewels having been surreptitiously removed; for immediately after the accession of Richard the Second, Commissioners were appointed to make an inventory of the jewels whereof the late King was possessed at the time of his death, and to administer an oath to such persons as should be suspected of having any of them in their possession, under penalty of the forfeiture of all their goods and chattels in case of a false return. (“*Rot. Patent*.” 1 Rich. II. p. iii. m. 6.)



present any matter in the King's courts for maintenance or lucre; and especially Alice Perrers, under penalty, as to the said Alice, of forfeiting all her property, and being banished from the realm.'

Although Alice Perrers was not specially named in the commission, it was evidently aimed against her; for on the 20th of November, in the same year (anno 1377), a writ was addressed to the Sheriffs of London ("Rot. Claus." 1 Rich. II. m. 19), commanding them to make proclamation, warning (or rather inviting), 'all persons having any suit, or claim, to make against the said Alice, for any extortions, oppressions, injuries, grievances, or excesses, by her committed against the King, or his people, to prefer their petitions to Parliament before the ensuing Saturday, when, by permission of God, justice should be done them.'

On the 22d of the month following, Alice was summoned to attend the Prelates and Lords in the Parliament then sitting; and Sir Richard le Scrop, the steward of the King's household, having been commanded so to do, rehearsed in her presence the Ordinance made in the preceding year against female pursuers:—and then informed her, that in the opinion of the Lords she had incurred the penalty therein stated, inasmuch as she had been the means of recalling the appointment of Sir Nicholas Dagworth (whom the Council had ordered to proceed to Ireland, to make enquiry into the conduct there of Sir William de Windsor), and also of procuring the restitution of the property of Richard Lyons, a merchant of London, which had been declared forfeited to the crown for numerous extortions, &c. committed by him whilst farming the customs and subsidies that had been granted to the late King.

On Alice denying the truth of the above charges, divers witnesses were examined to substantiate them; and, eventually, it was decreed by Parliament, that the before-mentioned Ordinance should be carried into full effect, and that the said Alice should be banished from the kingdom; and that not only 'all the lands, goods, and tenements in her own possession, but also all those vested in feoffees, or otherwise settled, whereof she enjoyed the profits, should be forfeited to the crown;'—but a clause was inserted to prevent this 'especial award' from being adopted as a precedent in any other case, on account of its enormity. ("Rot. Parl." vol. iii. pp. 12—14.)

How considerably Alice Perrers had profited by her intercourse with King Edward, may be surmised from a survey which was taken of her property immediately after the pronouncing of the above judgment; and from which it appears

On Trinity Sunday 1376, (June the 8th), Edward the Black Prince, being utterly exhausted by the long and lingering illness which he had undergone, yielded up his breath in his father's great chamber, at Westminster. He was

that she was seized of manors, lands and tenements at that time in no fewer than seventeen different counties. (Escheats, 1 Rich. II. No. 30.) But the rancour with which the proceedings against her were now carried on, may be evinced by a writ addressed to the Sheriffs of London on the 16th of January, 1377—8, commanding them to deliver to the keeper of the King's great wardrobe, "a tester made of red baudekin, and a coverlet of the same suit, worth 8*l.*; three curtains of red taffeta, worth 20*s.*; an image of the Virgin Mary in a tabernacle, worth 100*s.*; several chests, and a picture set with christals, worth 4*s.*, which had belonged to Alice Perrers, lately convicted." (Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 4591, art. 49. from "Rot. Claus." 1 Rich. II. m. 16.)

Although thus degraded and persecuted by the court party, Alice had still a natural and powerful protector in Sir William de Windsor, to whom she had been *married* immediately after the decease of the late King, if not *prior* to that event, for there are circumstances which render the latter supposition probable. In the Parliament convened at Gloucester in October, 1378, Sir William, conjointly with his wife, presented a petition, stating, that in the judgment recently pronounced against her, there were many errors, and praying that the same might be examined, and 'right and reason done, according to the law of the land.' The King's serjeant argued, that as Alice Perrers had been banished by an Ordinance of Parliament which had not been revoked, she could not enter the realm without the express permission of the King. 'The petitioners consequently prayed, that 'for the sake of God, and in aid of charity,' they might be heard by attorney,—which was permitted. The chief error in the judgment appears to have been, that Alice was therein described as an *unmarried* woman, 'whereas she then was, and had been for a long time before, the wife of the aforesaid William de Windsor.' ("Rot. Parl." vol. iii. pp. 40, 41.)

What proceedings took place on these petitions has not been ascertained; but in the third year of Richard II., the King, in consideration of the good services of Sir William de Windsor, and of his having agreed to serve under the Earl of Buckingham, in France, with 100 men at arms, raised at his own cost, restored to him and Alice his wife, "divers manors, lands, and tenements which had formerly belonged to the said Alice." ("Cal. Rot. Patent." p. 202 b.) But the grant proving insufficient to place them in full possession of the property, Sir William, about two years afterwards, complained to the Parliament then sitting (5th of Rich. II.), that "although he had performed the stipulated

buried in the Cathedral at Canterbury, agreeably to the directions of his will, which bears date at Westminster on the day preceding his decease. Both Stow and Dr. Lingard have erroneously stated, that the Prince died at Canterbury. His body, which was embalmed, and lay in state at West-

service, he could not obtain the profit of the restored lands, by reason of previous gifts made to other persons. ("Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 130. No. 14.) In that and the two following years ("Dugdale's Baronage," x.), Sir William was summoned to Parliament as Baron Windsor. He died in September, 1384, *sine prole*, leaving, according to the Escheat Rolls of the same year, three sisters, his coheiresses; but his will, which was a nuncupative one, mentions only his five nephews. ("Testamenta Vetusta," p. 116.)

Alice, now Lady Windsor, lived in comparative obscurity during her widowhood, but in the year 1393 (17th of Richard II.), she preferred a petition to the King in Parliament, stating, that her forfeited possessions had been restored to Sir William and herself, but that 'instead of the grant having been made conjointly to them and *their* heirs, as was intended, such grant was, by the fraudulent device of some who were no friends to her, made to the said William and *his* heirs, whereby she herself and *her* heirs had been disinherited.' She therefore 'prayed relief,' and that her lands and tenements should be restored to her agreeably to the original decision; adding, 'most renowned Lord, the wise men of the law say, that of good right and true conscience, such restoration ought to be made; the said Alice and her friends having sustained all the charges of the 100 men at arms, the said William having had nothing of his own, neither goods or money.' ("Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 327, No. 12.)

Another petition was presented to the same Parliament from Joan, the daughter of Alice Perrers, complaining, that 'whereas King Edward III. had given the profit of the marriage of the Earl of Norfolk for her aid and advancement, the same after the King's decease came into the hands of Sir William de Windsor and of her mother, by the former of whom it was sold to the Countess of Norfolk for 200 marks; and that when the said William went abroad, he directed those who had the management of his estates to pay her the said sum; that after his decease all his lands and goods were seized by John Windsor [who appears to have been a bastard nephew of Sir William de Windsor], whom she had sued; but that Thomas Colrede, the Under-Sheriff of London, and others, had made alterations in the record, to her great loss and prejudice, and the abatement of her suit; and she therefore prays, that the goods of the said John, and of those who had committed such fraud, should be assigned to her, con-



minster, was not conveyed to Canterbury until Michaelmas, "that so it might be interred with the greater solemnity, in the presence of the Parliament, as both Houses had desired."\*

The ensuing Parliament, which met at Westminster on formally to the opinion of the learned in the law.' ("Rot. Parl." p. 327, 328.)

The former of these petitions was referred to the Judges. How they decided does not appear, but it is evident from the will of Lady Windsor, which was made at Upminster, on the 15th of August 1400, (1st of Henry IV.), that she had not then recovered possession of her estates. By that instrument she bequeathed the manor of Gaynes, in Upminster, to "Joan, her younger daughter;" and says, "to Jane and Joane, my daughters, all my other manors and advowsons which John Wyndstore, or others have by his consent usurped; the which I desire my heirs and executors to recover and see them parted between my daughters, for that I say, on the pain of my soul, he hath no right therein nor never had." ("Testamenta Vetusta," p. 153; from Harl. MSS. 6148.)

After a perusal of the preceding facts, no one can reasonably deny but that Alice Perrers was the undoubted mistress of Edward the Third; and though Barnes and other writers have endeavoured to vindicate her tarnished reputation from obloquy, by advancing the fact of her marriage with so "noble a Baron" as Sir William Windsor, such marriage, instead of proving her innocence, proves only his worthlessness. Her intercourse with the King could not have been unknown to him, but he probably considered that her influence over her royal keeper, was of more advantage to his fortunes than of disparagement to his fame.

That Alice had no lawful surviving issue (if any) by Lord Windsor, is evident from the fact recorded in the Escheats and other records, of his three sisters being his coheirs. It becomes then an inquiry somewhat curious, as to who was the father of the two daughters mentioned in Lady Windsor's will. They do not appear to have been ever designated otherwise than as the daughters of *Alice Perrers*; and were therefore, in every probability, born before her marriage with Sir William de Windsor; and were consequently illegitimate. Can it be, that they were the unacknowledged offspring of her royal paramour? One of them at least, was known to the King, and, as we have seen from her petition (given above), was partly provided for by him. No charge of an improper intercourse with any person except the King, was ever brought against Alice Perrers; and the suggested hypothesis seems to be the only plausible one which an inquirer can adopt.

\* Barnes's "Hist. Edward III." p. 283.

the 27th of January, 1377, was opened in the presence of Prince Richard of Bourdeaux (eldest surviving son of the Black Prince), who had been created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, at Haveryng atte Bower, in Essex, on the 20th of the preceding November, and who now presided as *locum tenens* for the King, under a royal commission, dated at the same place.\* This appears to be the first Parliament in which the existence of a Speaker of the Commons' House is distinctly alluded to, in authentic records; but instead of that officer being named Sir Peter de le Mare, as stated by Walsingham, we learn that it was Sir Thomas de Hungerford, "*qui avoit les paroles par les Communes d' Engleterre en c'est Parlement.*"† Several Ordinances enacted in the prior Parliament, were reversed in this, and it seems probable that divers others would have been rescinded but for the sudden dissolution of the assembly on the 23d of February,‡ in consequence, as it would seem, of the tumults which had been excited in London from the determined protection given by the Duke of Lancaster to the celebrated Wicliffe, when cited to answer for his heresies before the Bishops in St. Paul's. A *Poll tax* of twopence upon every person, male or female, passing the age of fourteen years (beggars only excepted), was by this Parliament ordered to be levied upon the people.

The dissensions between the Duke and the citizens had not wholly subsided when the King, worn out by a long illness, died at his palace of Shene, near Richmond, on the

\* "Rot. Parl." vol. ii. p. 361.      † Idem. p. 374.

‡ Among the bills expressly ordered by the King to be laid before Parliament, but which were stopped by the dissolution, was one for the revocation of the Ordinance against Alice Perrers, (see pp. 234, 235) who was described as having been 'prejudged on untrue suggestion, and without due process of law.' (Vide 'Rot. Parl.' Id. No. 89.)

21st of June, 1377. According to Walsingham, he was deserted in his last moments alike by mistress, courtiers, and servants; his only consolation being afforded by a poor priest, who drawing near his bed, and presenting a crucifix, exhorted him to remember his Saviour, and request pardon for his sins. The dying monarch kissed the feet of the crucifix, with tears, and faintly articulating the name of "Jesus," expired. He was buried a few weeks afterwards in the Abbey church at Westminster; where he is represented by a statue of gilt-metal, lying cumbent upon a grey marble tomb.\*

Almost every Parliament from the 28th of Edward III., to the end of his reign (as appears from the original Rolls), was opened in the *Painted Chamber*, "en le Chaumbre de Peinte;" but the general place of assembly for the Peers, ("et autres Grantz,") and great men, was the *White Chamber*. The Commons occasionally held their sittings in the Painted Chamber, but in the last two Parliaments of this reign it is expressly stated, that they were directed to withdraw to their *ancient place* in the *Chapter House* of Westminster, "a lour ancienne place en la maison du Chapitre de l'Abbeye de Westm."† The consideration of *Petitions* was usually referred to Committees of about twenty persons (more or less), composed of the chief officers of the crown, viz. the Chancellor, Treasurer, Seneschal, and Chamberlain, with certain

\* By his will, dated October the 7th, 1376, King Edward bequeathed to Prince Richard, his grandson, "a complete bed, with all its furniture, containing his whole arms of France and England, remaining at his Palace at Westminster; together with four other beds which used to be made in four lower chambers of the said Palace, with their furniture; two suits of furniture for his hall, one being magnificent and noble, but the other light and thin, and fit for carriage; and two entire suits of furniture for his Chapel." Vide Nichols's "Collection" of Royal Wills.

† "Rot. Parl." vol. ii. pp. 322; 366.



Peers, spiritual and temporal, and a few Knights; those for English petitions meeting in the *Chamberlain's room*, near the Painted Chamber, and those for foreign ones assembling in *Marcolf's chamber*, which was on the borders of the river.\*

*List of Parliaments summoned to be held at Westminster  
in the reign of Edw. III.*

February 3, . . . . .	1327†	January 14, . . . . .	1339
Monday after St. Katherine's day (Nov. 25,) . . . . .	1330‡	This Parliament was pro- rogued, and a new writ issued, for	
Monday on the morrow of the Quindene of Easter, (April 16,) . . . . .	1331	February 3, . . . . .	1339
September 30, . . . . .	1331	October 13, . . . . .	1339
Monday after the feast of St. Gregory the Pope, (March 12,) . . . . .	1332§	January 20, . . . . .	1340
September 9, . . . . .	1332	Wednesday March 29, 1340	
Monday after the exaltation of the Cross, (Septem- ber 14,) . . . . .	1334	Wednesday after the Trans- lation of St. Thomas the Martyr (July 7,) . . . . .	1340
Monday after Midlent Sun- day (May 27,) . . . . .	1335	Monday April 24, . . . . .	1341
Monday, on the feast of St. Hilary (January 13,) . . . . .	1336	Wednesday after the feast of St. Edward the Con- fessor (October 13,) . . . . .	1341
Friday before Michaelmas day . . . . .	1337	Monday April 29 . . . . .	1343
February 3, . . . . .	1338	Monday June 7 . . . . .	1344
		Monday after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Sep- tember 8,) . . . . .	1346
		January 14, . . . . .	1348

\* Vide account Roll of the 13th of Edward II. before cited, p. 120.

† This Parliament was summoned by writs of the 20th of Edward II.

‡ It was customary, in former ages, to summon Parliaments on, or proximate to, some particular festival, or Saint's day; the day of the month not being mentioned in the summons.

§ Barnes says, this Parliament was held on April the 27th, being the Monday after the feast of St. George.

|| This probably was only a Council of State, or *Colloquium*. See Barnes, p. 235.

Monday March 31, . . . 1348	25,) . . . . . 1361†
Monday after the feast of St. Hilary (Jan. 13), . . . 1349*	October 13, . . . . 1362
February 9, . . . . . 1351	October 6, . . . . . 1363
Friday in the feast of St. Hilary (Jan. 13,) . . . 1352	January 20, . . . . . 1365
August 16, . . . . . 1352	May 4, . . . . . 1366
September 23, . . . . 1353	May 1, . . . . . 1368
Monday after the feast of St. Mark (April 25,) . . . 1354	June 3, . . . . . 1369
November 12, . . . . . 1355	February 24, . . . . 1371
Monday after Easter Week viz. April 17, . . . . 1357	June 8, . . . . . 1371
Monday after the Purifica- tion of the Virgin Mary (Feb. 2,) . . . . . 1358	October 13, . . . . . 1372
Friday the morrow after Ascension Day (May 14,) . . . . . 1360	This Parliament was pro- rogued to the morrow of All Souls' day, No- vember 3.
Sunday before the Conver- sion of St. Paul (January	November 21, . . . . 1373
	February 12, . . . . 1376
	This Parliament was pro- rogued to Monday after the feast of St. George (April 23,)
	January 27, . . . . 1377

\* This Parliament was prorogued on account of the plague, until the quindene of Easter, but the pestilence still continuing, it was wholly superseded by a writ tested at Westminster on the 10th of March.

† It is recorded, that among the summonses to this Parliament (35th Edward III.), there is one writ, "De admittendo fide dignos ad Colloquium;" and among the Earls and Barons is returned—Marie, Countesse de Norff.; Alianor, Countesse de Ormond; Philippa, Countesse de March; Agnes, Countesse de Pembroke; and Katherine, Countesse de Atholl. Vide "Of the Antiquity of the Parliaments in England," by Joseph Holland, p. 47, ed. 1685.—In the preceding year also, (34th Edw. III.) there had been writs tested at Wynton on the 5th of April, issued to divers Earls and Barons, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to several Bishops and Abbots, and to *four Abbesses*, requiring their attendance at Westminster on the morrow of the Trinity, for the purpose of treating of an aid for the making of the King's eldest son a knight, &c.—It does not appear, however, that any *Ladies* ever actually took their seats in Parliament by virtue of these summonses, although numerous instances are on record of both knights and esquires having sat in the House of Lords *in right of their wives*. See "Retrospective Review," vol. x.; *Privileges of Women*, pp. 88–112.

The following Memoranda relating to various appointments and operations connected with the Palace<sup>2</sup> in the reign of Edward the Third, and not hitherto noticed, have been collected, principally, from the printed abstracts of the "*Originalia*" and "*Patent Rolls*:"

1st Edward III. William de Chaillou (misspelt Charlhou in the abstract) was appointed Clerk of the King's Works at the Tower of London and Palace of Westminster. "*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*" vol. ii. p. 5, Rot. 8.—The same person had been Surveyor of the Works in the latter part of the preceding reign.

1st Edw. III. In the same year, and on the same Roll, another entry occurs, stating, that Richard de Kenebrok (probably a misreading for Pembrok), was appointed to the same situation; but there is doubtless some error in this, as the Chancellor's Roll of the 2nd of Edw. III. (now in the British Museum), renders it apparent that William de Kelleseye succeeded William de Chaillou as Clerk of the Works at the Palace and Tower, and that Richard de Pembrok, who had been Keeper (*Custos*) of the said Works, was then the Controller.

2nd Edw. III. Robert de Pippeshull was appointed Surveyor of the King's Works at the Palace and Tower for life. "*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*" Id. p. 23, Rot. 18.—He was afterwards Controller of the same works.—*Vide ante*, p. 148.

2nd Edw. III. William de Kelleseye was appointed Clerk of the same Works during pleasure.—"*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*" vol. ii. p. 24, Rot. 21."

3rd Edw. III. John de Feriby was appointed to the same office for life.—Id. p. 31, Rot. 16.—In a Roll of the 1st of this reign before quoted (see p. 141) John de Feryby is called Controller.

4th Edw. III. William de Weston was appointed Clerk of the Works at the Palace and Tower.—"*Cal. Rot. Patent.*" p. 108, m. 11."—In the 6th of the same reign, an order was directed to him as "*Custos Operacionum*" of the said Works, to deliver four *carrata* of lead in his custody to William de Clyn-ton, Constable of the Castle of Dovor. "*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*" vol. ii. p. 71, Rot. 30.—In the 10th of the same reign, a mandate was directed to the Sheriffs of London, requiring them to pay 50*l.* to the said William de Weston out of the city ferm, towards the charges of the Works at the Palace of Westminster. The Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex were also commanded at the same time to pay Weston 20*l.* for the same Works.—"*Id.* p. 111, Rot. 35."

11th Edw. III. The King granted the office of Gardener at the Palace of Westminster and Tower of London to John Sanderwyke, his valet, "*valecto suo*," during pleasure.—"*Cal. Rot. Patent.*" p. 129, m. 23.



19th Edw. III. James des Armes was constituted Keeper of the King's Gardens at Westminster and at the Tower for life, in the place of John de Sanderwyk, deceased—"Rot. Orig. Abbrev." p. 175, Rot. 17.

23rd Edw. III. The King granted to Thomas Schenche the Wardship of the Heir of John Schenche, the late Keeper of the Palace of Westminster, and of the Fleet Prison, which the said John held in capite, &c. "Id. p. 202, Rot. 26."—In the 29th of the same reign, the Wardship of the same Heir was granted to John Bray, the door-keeper of the King's Exchequer.—Id. p. 237, Rot. 7.

24th Edw. III. John de Alkeshull was appointed to procure stone, wood, charcoal, timber, lead, glass, iron, tiles, and other necessities for the King's Works at the Palace of Westminster, Tower of London, and Castle of Windsor.—Id. p. 211, Rot. 23.

24th Edw. III. Robert de Esshyng was appointed to procure workmen to raise stone in the quarries of Abbotsbury and Wynesbach in Dorsetshire, and Bere in Devonshire, for the works at the King's Palace at Westminster.—Ibid.

25th Edw. III. John de Bampton and John de Geddying were appointed to procure sufficient glass for the King's Chapel (within his Palace at Westminster), wherever the same should be found, at the King's expense, to be received and paid for at the Exchequer at Westminster; and also to provide as many glaziers and other workmen (artificers) as might be necessary for the aforesaid chapel, &c. with power to arrest and commit any person who should obstruct or resist the execution of this mandate.—Id. p. 217, Rot. 19.

25th Edw. III. John de Alkeshull was again appointed to procure timber, stone, and tiles for the king's works in the Palace at Westminster, Castle at Windsor, and town of Calais, "ac buscam p' stupis R. in d'co pallacio Westm'," together with glass and lead for the same palace, and carriage for all things so provided.—Id. p. 218, Rot. 21.

29th Edw. III. John de Alkeshull and William le Frenche were appointed to procure timber, stone, tiles, and other necessities for the King's works at Westminster, Windsor, and Calais.—Id. p. 238, Rot. 17.

30th Edw. III. William de Lambhith was appointed Surveyor of the Works at the Tower of London and Palace of Westminster.—"Cal. Rot. Patent." p. 166, m. 20; also *ante*, p. 149.

33rd Edw. III. John de Alkeshull was again appointed to procure timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, and other necessities for the Tower of London, Palace at Westminster, and Castle of Windsor, &c.—"Rot. Orig. Abbrev." vol. ii. p. 255, Rot. 16.

35th Edw. III. William de Sleaford was appointed Surveyor of the Works in the Tower of London and Palace of Westminster.—"Cal. Rot. Patent."

p. 174, m. 20.—In an account Roll of the 39th of Edw. III., he is called Clerk and Supervisor of the King's Works at Westminster.—Vide *ante*, p. 186.

36th Edw. III. John Souch [Schenche? see before 23d Edw. III.] holds of the King in chief, the custody of the Palace of Westminster and of the Fleet Prison.—“Cal. Rot. Patent.” p. 175, m. 15.

43d Edw. III. Richard Sutton, the King's valet, “*valectus regis*,” was appointed Keeper of the King's Private Palace at Westminster for life, in fee, &c. Id. p. 185, m. 11.—The Private Palace was on the south-west side of Old Palace Yard, near the present Parliament Office.

46th Edw. III. In a memorandum of this year, relative to an order of council sent to Richard de Pembrugg, Knt. Lieutenant of Ireland (and successor of William de Windsor in that office), complaint is made of disobedience to the King's Letters Patent of the 26th of January in the same year, which had been drawn up in the “*Oule-chaumbre*” in the King's Private Palace at Westminster.”—“Rot. Orig. Abbrev.” vol. ii. p. 319, Rot. 1.

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*R. W. Billings del.*

VAULT, EAST END OF PAINTED CHAMBER.

*S. Williams sc.*

### CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE PALACE AT WESTMINSTER FROM THE  
ACCESSION OF RICHARD THE SECOND UNTIL THE DECEASE OF  
HENRY THE EIGHTH.

**R**ICHARD the Second succeeded to the throne in accordance with the settlement made in full Parliament at Westminster in 1372, shortly before the departure of his father and grandfather on their unsuccessful expedition to France in the month of September in that year.\* His age, at the time of his accession, was about ten years and six months; and some fears had been entertained that his uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, would dispute his right to the crown. This apprehension occasioned the citizens of Lon-

\* Barnes's "History of Edward III." p. 244.



don, on the 20th of June 1377, to send a deputation to Prince Richard at Kennington, (where the Princes of Wales had formerly a palace) to declare to him “their ready good will to accept him for their lawfull king and governour, immediatlie after it should please God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now past hope of recouerie of health.”\* Happily, however, there was no real foundation for their alarm; and the young King whilst yet at Shene, to which place he had proceeded on the death of Edward, effected an accommodation of all differences between the Duke and the Londoners.† A Council was then summoned to make arrangements for the Coronation, and the claims of John of Gaunt, as Earl of Leicester, to officiate as Seneschal or High Steward of England at the approaching solemnity; as Duke of Lancaster, to bear in procession, by himself or his deputy, the principal sword called *Curtana*; and as Earl of Lincoln, to carve the meat at the King’s table, being admitted,—the Duke, in his character of Seneschal, held a Court of Claims‡ to adjust “the similar pretensions of the

\* Holinshed’s “Chronicles,” vol. ii. p. 712.

† On the 22d of June 1377, which was the day after Edward’s decease, in the evening, (“hora vesperarum,”) the Great Seal was delivered, by its then deputy keeper, into the hands of the young King in his chamber at Shene, in the presence of Simon [Sudbury], Archbishop of Canterbury; Henry [Wakefield], Bishop of Worcester; John, King of Castile and Leon, and Duke of Lancaster; and other magnates.’ It was then received from the King by the Duke of Lancaster, and by him consigned to the keeping of Sir Nicholas Bond, of the King’s Chamber. Four days afterwards it was re-delivered to Adam [de Houghton], Bishop of St. David’s, the then Chancellor (who had just returned from beyond seas), in the principal Chamber of the Palace at Kennington; and was by him carried to his hostel or inn near Fleet-street, where (in his Chapel) he on the same day affixed the said seal to divers Letters Patent respecting state offices.—“Rot. Claus.” 1st Rich. II. m. 46.

‡ This Court assembled in the *White Hall* within the Palace at Westminster, near the Royal Chapel;—“in Alba Aula Regii Palatii Westmonasterii, prope

nobility and gentry, who, according to the modes of the feudal system, demanded in right of their fiefs to perform different menial services on the ensuing occasion.”

The subsequent proceedings were conducted with extreme magnificence. The King came from Shene to the Tower of London, where he remained a short time until the preparations were completed. On St. Swithin's day (July the 15th) as appears from the Close Rolls, ‘after dinner, the nobility and knights, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, with many of the Citizens of London, as well as a great number of other horsemen, becomingly decorated, having assembled in an open space near the Tower,’ the King issued forth clad in white garments, accompanied (*en suite*) by a ‘great multitude of the princes, nobles, knights, and esquires, preceded by serjeants and men-at-arms.’\*—“Sir Simon Burlie bare the sword before him, and Sir Nicholas Bonde led the King's horse by the bridle, on foot. The noise of trumpets and other instruments was marvellous, so that this seemed a day of joy and mirth, a day that had beene long looked for, because it was hoped that now the quiet orders and good lawes of the land, which thorough the sloathfulness of the aged King deceased, and couetousnesse of those that ruled about him, had beene long banished, should now be renewed and brought againe in vse.

“The citie was adorned in all sorts most richlie. The

Capellam Regalem.” Vide “Rot. Claus.” 1st Rich. II. m. 45.—Arthur Taylor says, “This Coronation is remarkable as affording us the first record of the proceedings of the Court of Claims, which was at this time holden on the Thursday before the festival; and of the ritual used on this occasion (the *Liber Regalis*), we have also a more perfect copy than hath been left in any other reign.” Vide “Glory of Regality,” p. 256. — The “*Liber Regalis*” is now preserved among the archives of the Dean and Chapter at Westminster.

\* “*De Processu et Formalitatibus ad Coronationem Regis.*” Claus. 1st, R. 2, m. 44, “*Fœdera*,” tom. iii. pars iii. p. 63. Hag. Com.

water conduits ran with wine for the space of three houres together. In the vpper end of Cheape was a certeine castell made with foure towers, out of the which castell, on two sides of it, there ran foorth wine abundantlie. In the towers were placed foure beautifull virgins, of stature and age like to the King, apparelled in white vestures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the King's face, at his approching neere to them, leaves of gold; and as he approched also, they threw on him and his horsse florens of gold counterfeited. When he was come before the castell, they tooke cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the spouts of the castell, presented the same to the King and to his Nobles. On the top of the castell, betwixt the foure towers, stood a golden angell, holding a crowne in his hands, which was so contriued, that when the King came, he bowed downe and offered to him the crowne. But to speake of all the pageantes and shewes which the citizens had caused to be made and set foorth in honour of their new King, it were superfluous; euerie one in their quarters striuing to surmount other, and so with great triumphing of citizens, and ioy of the lords and noblemen, he was conueied vnto his Palace at Westminster, where he rested for that night.”\*

In the Close Rolls it is farther stated, ‘that the King, arriving at Westminster with the Princes, Nobles, and many others of his lieges, entered the Great Hall of the Palace, and going up to the high marble table,—“ad altam mensam marmoream,”—which stood in it, he asked for wine, which being brought he drank of it, as did others standing around him. The King then retired with the Princes and his family to his chamber, where he supped royally [*more regio*], and having bathed becomingly, he retired to rest.

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 713, ed. 1807, from Thos. Walsingham.



‘ In the morning the King arose, and having heard mass, he was clothed in the purest vestments, and wearing slippers or buskins,—“*caligis tantummodo calciatus*,”—only on his feet; he quitted his room and descended into the Great Hall, with a full attendance of Princes and Nobles. There came to meet him the Archbishop of Canterbury [Simon Sudbury] and other prelates in pontifical habits, and the clergy of the realm in silken copes, with a great concourse of people at the high table in the Hall. Then the King, sitting in his royal seat, the prelates and clergy arranged the procession. In the mean time William de Latymer, as Almoner, assisted by his deputies, covered the pavement from the Hall to the regal seat—“*pulpitum*”—in the church of St. Peter, with red-striped cloths, on which the King and the great personages—“*magnates*”—before-mentioned were to walk to the church.

‘ And the King being brought forward, there preceded him the Lord Duke [of Lancaster], bearing in his own right the principal sword; Edmund, Earl of March, with the second sword and spurs, which he carried in behalf of the Earl of Pembroke [a minor]; the Earl of Warwick with the third sword in his own right; Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, bearing one royal baton; and Thomas of Woodstock the other, by the King’s order; each staff being surmounted by the figure of a dove. They were preceded by the Bishop of St. David’s, Chancellor of England, holding in his hands a sanctified cup, or chalice, of great value; before him, the Bishop of Worcester, Treasurer of England, bearing a patin; and many other prelates and others of the clergy walked before them: behind the King, came the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Winton. And thus all, the personages just mentioned, went in procession to the church, where, on the King prostrating himself before the high altar, the Archbishop bestowed on him his benedic-

tion. After which the prelates and great men raised him up and led him to a seat—"pulpitum"—prepared for the purpose in an elevated situation in the church, and placed him in the royal chair, honourably decorated, where he might be beheld by all the people then present. And the Barons of the Cinque Ports held over the King a square awning, or canopy, of purple silk, supported on four silvered staves, ornamented with bells of silver gilt, four bells being attached to each stave.

'The King thus sitting in the chair, there came before him at his command, Richard, Earl of Arundel, holding in his hands the noble regal crown; and, in the same manner came William, Earl of Suffolk, who held the royal sceptre, at the summit of which was a cross. The Earl of Suffolk also brought a valuable robe, and William, Earl of Salisbury another garment, with which the Lord the King was then arrayed. And the holy sacrament having been administered to the King by the Archbishop, he confirmed by oath his promise to keep and preserve the laws and customs granted to the people of the realm of England of old, by the Kings his progenitors (just princes and devoted to God); and more especially the laws, customs, and liberties bestowed on the clergy and people by the most glorious and sanctified King Edward [the Confessor]. And to preserve to God and the Holy Church, the Clergy and the People, peace and concord to the utmost of his power; and to cause to be done, in all his judgments, right and justice in mercy and truth; and also to hold and keep up the just laws and customs of the church, and to maintain and cause to be observed to the honour of God, those laws which the people should justly and reasonably appoint.

'The Archbishop then turning to the four sides of the platform, stated to all the people what the King had pro-

mised and sworn, inquiring of the people if they would have him for their King and Liege Lord, and as such render him due obedience, and they consented with one voice. Then the Archbishop began with a loud voice, to chant the hymn, ‘*Veni Creator Spiritus*,’ which being finished, and the prelate having prayed over the King, and a solemn litany having been sung, at which the clergy assisted, the vestments with which the King had been first arrayed were cut open, and he was anointed with holy oil and chrism in various parts of his body, according to usage, by the hands of the Archbishop; and then going to the step of his throne, he was immediately crowned; and being invested with the royal sword called *Curtana*, the sceptre, the ring, the spurs, and other regal ornaments, the great men and lords standing around, lifted up the Lord the King, and placed him in the throne. The prelates and clergy next sung the Psalm, *Te Deum laudamus*; and going up to the great altar, celebrated high mass, in the midst of which, the King descending from his seat went to the steps of the altar, and having offered a mark of gold, returned to his seat again. While the ecclesiastics were employed in solemnizing the mass, divers lords and great men paid their homage and fealty to our Lord the King. The mass being concluded, the King, with a great concourse of prelates, great men and nobles, proceeded from the church to his Palace, and passing through the midst of the Great Hall the King went to his private chamber.

‘After the King had rested himself, he descended into the Great Hall, and having washed his hands, sat down in the royal seat at the high table, where sat with him many of the prelates on either hand. On the right side of the Hall, the Barons of the Cinque Ports occupied the first table; the Clerks of the Chancery the second; and at the inferior tables on that side were the King’s Judges, the Barons of



the Exchequer, and others. On the left side of the Hall were tables for the Sheriffs, Recorder, Aldermen, and many of the Citizens of London. In the middle were tables filled by distinguished men of the Commons of the Kingdom. And when all were seated, before the King's dinner was served, he bestowed the title of Earl of Buckingham on his beloved uncle Thomas of Woodstock; that of Earl of Northumberland on Henry de Percy; that of Earl of Nottingham on John de Mowbray; and that of Earl of Huntingdon on Guiscard D'Angle; and he gave the honour of knighthood to Edward, son of the Earl of Cambridge, and other young gentlemen. All these Earls and Knights bestowed their bounty largely, in acknowledgment of the royal munificence.

‘ During the continuance of the entertainment, the Lord Steward, the Constable, and the Earl Marshal, with certain Knights deputed by them, rode about the Hall on noble coursers to preserve peace and order among the people. All that time the Earl of Derby stood at the King's right hand, holding the principal sword drawn from its scabbard. The Earl of Stafford performed the office of chief carver. Dinner being finished, the King arose and went to his chamber, with the prelates, great men, and nobles before-mentioned. Then the great men, Knights, and Lords passed the remainder of the day until supper time in shews, dances, and solemn minstrelsy; and having supped, the King and the others retired to rest, fatigued with their exertions in the ceremonies of this magnificent festival.’\*

Walsingham notices many particulars of this coronation, but avoids to describe the splendour and profusion of the

\* Vide “*Fœdera*,” ut supra. In an annexed Memorandum, it is stated that the Duke of Lancaster delivered in the above particulars of the Coronation —“*istum Processum*”—into the King's Chancery, in order that the same might be duly enrolled.—*Ib.* p. 64.

banquet, 'lest his veracity should be disputed.' He has, however, mentioned one circumstance of a strikingly picturesque character which accompanied the feast, namely:—'In the midst of the Palace, a hollow marble pillar was set up, upon steps, and on the top was placed a large gilt eagle, from under the feet of which, through the four sides of the capital, divers kinds of wine came gushing forth throughout the day; no one being forbidden to partake of the same, were he ever so poor, or abject.'\*

Another circumstance, of a somewhat remarkable kind, is mentioned by Walsingham as occurring at this coronation. Sir John Dymmok, who claimed to be the King's *Champion* in right of Margaret de Ludlow, his wife, and of his possession of the manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, (to which the said office is attached) having furnished himself according to the tenure, 'with the best suit of armour, save one, and the best steed, save one, from the King's armoury and stable, he proceeded on horseback, with two attendants, (the one bearing his spear, and the other his shield) to the Abbey gates, there to await the ending of the mass. But the Lord Marshal, the Lord Seneschal, and the Lord Constable, with Sir Thomas Percy, (the Lord Marshal's brother,) being all mounted on their great horses, went to the knight, and told him that he should not have come so soon, but when the King was at dinner; wherefore, he had better retire, and lay-

\* Walsingham, "Hist. Brev." p. 197.—There are divers Manuscripts respecting Richard the Second's Coronation, in the Harleian and Cottonian Libraries in the British Museum. The claims made on behalf of the Mayor and Citizens of London were, 'for the Mayor to serve the King in the Hall at dinner (and afterwards in the royal chamber) with wine and spices, in a golden cup belonging to the King; and for the Citizens to serve in the Buttery, helping the Chief Butler both at the dinner-table in the Hall, and after dinner, in the Chamber of the Estates, &c.'—Vide Harl. MSS. No. 1309.

ng aside his weighty armour, rest himself until the proper time :—"sed quòd usque ad prandium Regis differet adventum suum; quapropter monuit ut rediret, et, deposito tanto onere armorum, quiesceret ad illud tempus." The knight complied with this admonition, and withdrew.\*

Within a few days after the coronation, the Duke of Lancaster appeared before the King in council, and expressed his intention of retiring from the government; such a step having been rendered expedient by the strong jealousies which had been excited against him in regard to the succession; and still more so, perhaps, from his patronage of the person and doctrines of the reformer Wicliffe. His brothers, Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock, withdrew also from state affairs about the same time. A Council of Regency was then appointed to assist the young King, whose first Parliament met at Westminster on the 13th of October 1377. In this

\* The cause of the knight's seeming irregularity on this occasion, is suggested by Mr. Taylor to have arisen from it having anciently been the practice of the Champion "to ride in the *Procession* as well as in the *Hall*, and to proclaim his challenge, '*devant tout le monde*,' in both places ("Glory of Regality," p. 316); and we find, that in this very instance the Champion had claimed to ride in the procession on the coronation day—"le dit Johan doit venir—le jour de son coronement et chivacher devant le Roi al procession."—"Rot. Claus." Rich. II. m. 45.—It is remarkable, that the fees appertaining to the Champion remained unsettled until *after* the 4th year of this sovereign, when Dame Margaret Dymmok, who was then a widow, petitioned the King that the perquisites of the said office,—"*cestassavoir le mellieur destrer ove trappure 't le mellieur armure du Roy forspris un*,"—or an allowance for the same—"ou pour eulx resonable regarde,"—should be delivered to her, in right of her late husband;—who, in pursuance of his claim, and of other charges at the coronation, was more than 200 marks in debt at the time of his decease.' The King directed his Council to treat with the petitioner, and accord to her what was reasonable.—"Bibl. Cotton." Vesp. C. xiv. p. 119. See also Sir H. Nicolas's *Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council*," vol. i.—Mr. Taylor has inadvertently assigned this petition to the reign of Henry IV. See "*Glory of Regality*," p. 137.



assembly, the prosecution against Alice Perrers was revived, and sentence of banishment and confiscation was pronounced against her.

In August 1378, the right of sanctuary possessed by the Abbey of Westminster, was for the first time violated; and the Church itself became the scene of two most atrocious murders, which were committed under the following circumstances. At the famous battle of Najara, in Spain, fought between Edward the Black Prince, and the bastard Don Henry, on the 3rd of April 1367, the Count of Denia, a Castilian nobleman, was made prisoner by Frank de Haule, or Haulay, and John Shakle, esquires to Sir John Chandos, who conveyed him to England as their lawful captive. Frank de Haule, when dying, bequeathed his share of the prize to his son Robert, who, conjointly with Shakle, permitted the Count to return to Castile to procure means to defray his ransom. He died, however, before this could be effected, and his son and heir "who remained in gage for the monie" was, for several years, still kept in durance by the two esquires. At length, early in the new reign, the duke of Lancaster, who, in right of Constantia his wife, had laid claim to the crown of Castile, demanded the young Count from his keepers; and on their refusing compliance he caused them to be committed to the Tower. Soon afterwards, escaping from prison, they took sanctuary in the Abbey Church at Westminster; but it having been determined to seize them by force, Sir Ralph de Ferrers, one of the Council, and Sir Alan Boxhull, Constable of the Tower, with a retinue of fifty persons in armour, entered the Church for that purpose, just at the time of the celebration of high mass. Shakle was prevailed on to submit without resistance, but Robert de Haule "would not suffer them to come within his reach, and perceyuing they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falcheon, or short sword, which

he had girt to him, and therewith layde so freely about him, trauersing twice round about the monkes quier, that til they had beset him on eache syde, they coulde doe him no hurt, but at length, when they hadde got him at that advauntage, one of them clove hys head to the very braynes, and an other thrust him through the body behinde with a sworde, and so they murdered him amongst them. They slew also one of the monkes that woulde haue hadde them to haue saved the Esquires life."\*

This sacrilegious violation of a consecrated sanctuary occasioned a vast outcry among all ranks of people; and the Abbey Church, as profaned by the shedding of blood, was kept shut up about four months. Sentence of excommunication was also pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and five of his suffragan bishops, against all who had been concerned in the murder, either as principals or abettors, except the Duke of Lancaster, whose near relationship to the King, and possibly some apprehension of his vengeance, was the cause of his being especially exempted by name. His influence, indeed, was sufficiently powerful to secure the murderers from suffering in person, as they highly deserved; but Sir Ralph de Ferrers and Sir Alan Boxhull, the two principals, covenanted to give £200 to the Abbot of Westminster, by way of penance. Sometime afterwards, Shakle was set at liberty, he having compounded with the King to receive 500 marks, in ready money, and lands of the annual value of 100 marks, for

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," (from Walsingham) p. 1011, edit. 1577. Adam Murimuth, a contemporary historian, (the continuator of Matthew of Westminster) says, that Haule was killed before the stall of the Prior, and that the other person slain, was one of the Clerks or Vicars choral of the Church; but in the Petition presented to the Parliament at Gloucester, from the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, in consequence of these acts of atrocity, the latter victim is called "un s'geant [sergeant] du meisme Eglise." —See "Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 50.

the ransom of his captive. It then became known that the young Count, who had been hitherto in concealment, "was the verie groome that had serued Schakell, all the tyme of hys trouble and would neuor vtter himselfe what hee was before that time, hauing serued hym as an hyred seruante all that while in prison, and out of prison, and in daunger of life when his other maister was murdered."\*

From the great excitement in the metropolis occasioned by these events, it was determined that the next Parliament should meet at Gloucester instead of Westminster, and it consequently assembled in St. Peter's Abbey in that City, in the October following. During the session a strong petition was presented from the Abbot (Litlington) and Convent of Westminster, complaining of the recent violation of their sanctuary;—and in the ensuing Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 25th of April 1379, it was ordained that "the privileges and immunities of the Abbey of Westminster should remain whole and inviolate," but with the proviso that the lands and goods of such persons as took sanctuary to defraud their creditors, should be liable to seizure in discharge of their debts.†

In the Lists at Westminster, before the King's Palace, on the 7th of June, 1380, a judicial Combat took place between Sir John Annesley, Knt. and Thomas Katrington or Caterton, Esq.; the latter of whom had been accused by the knight of treason, in having betrayed and delivered up to the French, for a sum of money, the Castle of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, in the territory of Cotentin, in Normandy, of which he was then governor.

This fortress and the lordship annexed to it, had been given

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," p. 1014. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 722, edit. 1807.



by Edward III. to the celebrated warrior Sir John Chandos, one of whose nieces and co-heiresses Sir John Annesley had married, and in her right the lordship of St. Sauveur would have become his property had it not been surrendered by the defendant.

On the 8th of March, the appellant Annesley made his appearance in the Court of the Constable of England, at Westminster, before Lord Fitz-Walter, sitting as Deputy Constable for the Earl of Buckingham; and there, in set terms, he accused Katrington of the treasonable surrender of the Castle of St. Sauveur, and of having sold it to the French, to the great injury of our Lord the King, and to the loss and disherison of the said appellant, who offered to justify by duel with the defendant the charge he had made against him, and threw down his gauntlet in the court, in token of defiance. The accused asserted his innocence of the alleged treachery and corruption, and accepted the challenge with the accustomed formalities: both parties then gave surety for the prosecution of the contest, according to law. Two days afterwards they appeared again in the same court, before the Earl of Buckingham himself, and the accusation and answer having been recited, and the sureties renewed, the Constable ordered them to attend at Windsor, on the morrow of St. George's Day, when a time and place for the trial at arms should be assigned them.\*

“Herevpon,” says Holinshed, “was the day and place appointed, and all things provided readie, with lists railed and made so substantiallie, as if the same should haue endured for euer. The concourse of people that came to London to see this tried, was thought to exceed that of the King's

\* “*Fœdera*,” tom. iii. pars. 3. p. 96. Hag. Com.

coronation, so desirous men were to behold a sight so strange and vnaccustomed.\* On the morning of the day fixed upon, (June the 7th) the King, the Lords, and many others, assembled at the place where the lists were set up, on the pavement in front of the palace. The knight, "armed and mounted on a faire courser, seemelie trapped," came forward as appellant, to await the appearance of the defendant; and shortly after, the latter was summoned in the ensuing terms:—"Thomas Katrington, defendant, come and appeare to saue the action, for which Sir John Anneslie, knight and appellant, hath publikelie and by writing appealed thee." Thus thrice the herald made proclamation, and at the third call, the defendant entered, "riding on a courser trapped with traps imbroidered with his armes. At his approaching to the lists he alighted from his horsse, lest, according to the law of armes, the Constable should have challenged the horsse, if he had entered within the lists: but his shifting nothing availed him, for the horsse, after his maister was alighted beside him, ran vp & downe by the railes, now thrusting his head ouer, and now both head & breast; so that the Earle of Buckingham, because he was High Constable of England, claimed the horsse afterwards, swearing that he would haue so much of him as had appeared ouer the railes, and so the horsse was adiudged vnto him."

As soon as the esquire was come within the lists, the Earl Marshal and the Constable produced the indenture which had been made and sealed by the parties before them, and the articles were read in the hearing of the assembly. Katrington, "whose conscience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore seemed full of troublesome

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 727: edit. 1807.

and grudging passions, as an offender already convinced," began to make exceptions to the terms to which he had subscribed. The Duke of Lancaster, however, who had formerly patronized him, being exasperated at this manifest prevarication, swore that if he did not accept the conditions of the combat, according to the law of arms, and the terms of the indenture made by his own consent, he should be held guilty of the alleged treason, and forthwith executed. This declaration gave great satisfaction to the people, who had apprehended that the Duke might be disposed to protect the defendant. The latter now summoning all his courage, declared that he durst fight with the knight not only on the point in question, but on all others whatsoever:—"for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and favour of his freends, than to the cause which he had taken upon him to defend. He was in deed a mightie man of stature, whereas the knight among those that were of a meane stature was one of the least. Freends to the esquire, in whom he had great affiance to be borne out through their assistance, were the Lords Latimer and Basset, with others."

Before they began the combat, both the appellant and the defendant respectively made oath of the truth of the cause for which either fought, and disclaimed having had recourse to magical arts or charms for protection against the foe. Then having devoutly offered up prayers, they began the battle; in the first onset with spears, then with swords, and lastly with daggers. The fight was obstinately contested, but after it had continued a long time, the knight disarmed his adversary and overthrew him; and endeavouring to cast himself upon him, he fell himself, being blinded by the perspiration, which obstructed his view through the vizor of his helmet.

Thus he fell beside the prostrate esquire, who perceiving that he had missed his aim, seized the opportunity, and threw



himself on his antagonist. While they were struggling on the ground in this situation, the King, apprehending that the knight would be overcome, and probably prepossessed in his favour, gave orders that the combatants should be parted, which was done accordingly, in opposition to the intreaties of Annesley, who declared himself confident of victory. When they were raised up, it appeared that the esquire was unable to stand without support, and he was placed in a chair, to see whether he would recover his strength. The knight, meantime, walked without any assistance to the place where the King sat, and besought him and his nobles that the contest might be renewed, and that he might be laid on the ground with the esquire above him, as before they were parted. This, at his urgent petition was granted; but it soon appeared that his adversary was utterly disabled, for he fainted, and fell from his seat, so that it was expected he would have died on the spot. By the use of proper means, however, his senses were restored, and his armour was taken off, as being obviously vanquished. "After a little time the esquier began to come to himselfe, and lifting vp his eies began to hold vp his head, and to cast a ghostlie looke on euerie one about him; which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no piece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false periured man, asking of him if he durst trie the battell with him againe: but the esquier hauing neither sense nor spirit whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging."\* The unfortunate culprit, thus convicted by the issue of the combat, became delirious, and on the next day, "he yéelded vp the ghost," and was afterwards hanged at Tyburn.

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 726—729. Fabyan states that this Combat took place in 1383, but that he is in error, is proved by different entries in the "Fœdera," under the year 1380.

On the 26th of January 1380, the Chancellor Sir Richard le Scrop delivered up the Great Seal to the King in the *Privy Chamber* of his private palace at Westminster, “in quadam Secreta Camera Dom. Regis infra Privatum Palatium Westm.,”—in the presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Exeter, the Duke of Lancaster, and other magnates. Two days afterwards the King appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury (Simon Sudbury) Chancellor, and giving him the seal, the prelate on the following day took it into the Court of Chancery in the Great Hall at Westminster, where he affixed it to divers writs, charters, and letters patent.\*

About this time the necessities of the crown became so great, in consequence both of the profuse extravagance of the court, and of the vast expenses of the foreign wars in the present and preceding reigns, that extraordinary measures were resorted to for obtaining supplies. The multiplied exactions by which the people had already been oppressed, had excited a general spirit of discontent; and the Commons' House, as it increased in power, and obtained a fuller knowledge of the many immunities from taxation enjoyed by the clergy and upper ranks of society, grew daily more and more tenacious of granting subsidies. Unhappily, however, in the Parliament which was held in St. Andrew's Priory, at Northampton, in November 1380, the Commons were induced to grant a *Poll tax* of three groats on all the aity, males and females, above the age of fifteen years (mendicants excepted); but it was ordained that the more wealthy

\* “*Fœdera*,” tom. 3. pars. iii. p. 91, Hag. Com. After the murder of Archbishop Sudbury, in Wat Tyler's rebellion, the celebrated William Courtenay was appointed Chancellor, and the Great Seal was delivered to him on November the 30th, 1381, by the King in “*la Redechaumbre*” of the Private Palace at Westminster. Id. pars 3, p. 131.

persons should assist the poorer classes, no farther, however, than for each individual to pay sixty groats for himself and his wife, whilst the poor man should not pay less than one groat for himself and his wife.\* This tax, having been farmed out to a band of rapacious courtiers, who were desirous, as Stow remarks, "to enrich themselves with other men's goods," was exacted with great rigour from the people, and in consequence of the indecent and brutal conduct of some of the tax-gatherers, it became, in the following year, the immediate cause of one of the most dangerous Insurrections that ever threatened to overthrow the British monarchy.

The Insurrection commenced about the middle of June 1381; and the rebels, under Wat *Tyler*, Jack *Straw*, and others of similar appellation, advancing to the metropolis, committed the greatest devastations there, burning and destroying houses and public buildings, and slaying the Archbishop of Canterbury (Simon Sudbury), Sir Robert Hales, the Lord Treasurer, and many other persons. During the time that the insurgents held possession of London (which was upwards of a week), the King resided both at the Tower and in its vicinity, at the house called the Wardrobe. Among the outrages committed by the insurgents, it is recorded that they went to Westminster and broke open the Exchequer, destroyed the books and records, violated the Sanctuary, and murdered one of the King's officers, whom they found clinging to the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in the Abbey Church. † "The same day," says Stow, "after dinner, about two of the clocke, the King went from the Wardrobe called the Royall, in London, toward Westminster

\* "Rot. Parl." 4. Rich. II. vol. iii. p. 90.

† This was John Inworth, Marshal of the Marshalsey, who was dragged into Cheapside, and there beheaded.



attended on by the number of 200 persons to visit Saint Edward's shrine, and to see if the Commons had done any mischief there. The Abbot and Convent of that Abbey, with the Chanons and Vicars of Saint Stephen's Chappell met him in rich copes with procession, and led him by the charnell-house into the abbey, then to the church, and so to the high altar, where hee deuoutely prayed and offered. After which he spake with the Anchore [Anchoret], to whom hee confessed himselfe; then hee went to the Chapell called Our Lady in the Pewe, where he made his prayers." Froissart thus mentions this last act of devotion:—"There is a statue of Our Lady in a small Chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles, in which the Kings of England have much faith. The King having paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine, mounted his horse about nine o'clock, as did the barons who were with him."\* Immediately after this visit to Westminster, followed the King's interview with Wat Tyler in Smithfield; and the violent assassination of that haughty rebel through the resolute interference of William Walworth, Mayor of London, who was afterwards knighted for his services to the King on this and other occasions.†

During the sitting of Parliament at Westminster in November 1381, the public business was interrupted by the feud that had taken place between the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Northumberland, both of whom had brought to the metropolis great numbers of their armed retainers, and

\* See Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 739; Stow's "Chronicle," p. 459; and Froissart's "Chronicles," Johnes's Trans. 8vo, vol. v. p. 356.

† Philpot, and two other citizens also received the same honour. Godwin remarks, that "this seems to be the first instance in which the insignia of chivalry were thus diverted from their original appropriation." See "Life of Geoffrey Chaucer," vol. iii. p. 206.

“contrary to the ancient usage of the realm,” wore armour themselves in the Parliament-house. The King at length interfered to settle their dispute, “to the end that some good might be done in that Parlement.” But little, however, had been effected, when news arrived that the Princess Anne of Bohemia (sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus), with whom King Richard had made a treaty of marriage, had reached Calais on her way to England; upon which the Parliament was prorogued till after Christmas.

Holinshed gives the following account of the reception of the bride elect; and of the subsequent matrimonial ceremony which took place at Westminster. “Such as should receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing a maruellous and right strange woonder happened, for she was no sooner out of hir ship, and got to land in safetie with all hir companie, but that foorthwith the water was so troubled and shaken as the like thing had not to any man’s remembrance euer beene heard of, so that the ship in which the appointed queene came ouer was terribly rent in peeces, and the residue so beaten one against an other, that they were scattered here and there after a woonderful manner. Before hir comming to the citie of London, she was met on Blackheath by the maior and citizens of London in most honorable wise, and so with great triumph conueied to Westminster, where (on the 14th of January 1382) all the nobilitie of the realme being assembled, she was ioined in marriage to the King; and shortly after (Jan. 22d) crowned Queene by the Archbishop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honor that might be deuised. There were also holden for the more honour of the said marriage, solempne *Justes* for certeine daies together, in which, as well the Englishmen as the new Queene’s countriemen shewed prooffe of their manhood and valiancie, whereby praise and commendation of knightlie

prowesse was atchiued, not without damage of both parties."\* According to Froissart, "the marriage was solemnized in the Chapel of the Palace of Westminster, the twentieth day after Christmas."†

On the re-assembling of Parliament after the King's marriage, one of the members, a distinguished nobleman, died very suddenly. Stow thus records the event: "William Vfford, Earle of Suffolke, in this Parliament being elected by the knights of the shires to pronounce on their behalves the businesse of the realme, the very day and houre in which he should have executed the businesse he had taken in hand, as he was going vp the staires that ledde into the chamber where all the nobilitie of the realme sate, he sodainly fell downe, and among his men's hands that were about to holde him, he yielded vp the ghost, although being very merry, and feeling no euill a little before, as euen at that instant he had entred Westminster Hall; of whose sodaine death not only all the nobles of the realme were greatly amazed, but all the meaner sort, for in all his life-time he had shewed himselfe amiable to all men."‡

\* Holinshed's, "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 753.

† "Chronicles," Johnes's Trans. 8vo, vol. vi. p. 33.—Fabyan most erroneously represents the Princess as having arrived at Westminster on May the 8th, and says she was married shortly after.—General pardons were granted at the intercession of Queen Anne to all offenders except some who had been concerned in the late daring rebellion. A proclamation was first issued, tested at Westminster, December 13, 1381, "*ad requisitionem Annæ futuræ consortis Regis concessa*;" the exceptions to this act of grace including the men of Canterbury, Cambridge, Bridgewater, St. Edmundsbury, Beverley, and Scarborough. On the 14th of February 1382, another proclamation was published, confirming the former, and extending its provisions of mercy to the men of the city of Canterbury.—"*Fœdera*," tom. iii. pars 3, pp. 131 and 134. Hag. Com.

‡ "Chronicles," p. 471.—The Earl was one of the Triers of Petitions from the Commons of Gascony and other foreign dominions of the Crown in the Parliaments at Westminster in 1380 and 1381. See "*Rot. Parl.*" vol. iii. p. 98.



In November 1384, during the sitting of Parliament at Westminster, a *Trial by battle* took place in the lists there, in the presence of the King and Queen, the Duke of Lancaster, and many other nobles. The appellant was an Esquire of Navarre, named Mortileto de Vilenos, who brought a charge of treason against John Welsh, or Wallis, Esq. of Grimsby, as occurring at Cherburgh, in which garrison the latter had held a command. They fought on St. Andrew's day, when, according to Knyghton, the Navarrais was killed on the field, 'and presentlie drawne, hanged, and headed;' but others state, that Mortileto being vanquished, acknowledged he had accused the defendant unjustly, through displeasure at an injury done to him by the said Welsh, in abusing the Navarrais' wife whilst in command at Cherburgh. On this confession the King adjudged him to be drawn to the place of execution, and hanged; "although the Queene and many others did make earnest intercession to have his life saved." Welsh, on the contrary, was made a knight, and enriched with many gifts, "as well of the Kings and the Dukes bestowing, as also of other great men and peeres of the realme."\*

The frequent contests between Richard the Second, under the influence of his favourite Robert de Vere and others, and the Princes of the blood and great Barons, headed by the

\* Vide Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 764; and Stow's "Chronicles," p. 477. — That these *judicial combats* were not unfrequent in that age may be corroborated by the following extract from the Chancellor's Roll of the 11th of Richard the Second, (now in the British Museum) of 'Payments made by the Sheriffs of London,' viz. "Et in duobus duellis arraiandis apud Smythfeld, inter Laur. Teuder probatorem, et Nich. Slebuch defendentem: et inter eundem probatorem, et Johan. Middleton defendentem, 28s. per Bill. de partic. Et ejusd. Vic. pro vadia prefati Laur. Teuder. probatoris, in prissona de Newgate detenti, a primo die Marcii anno 11<sup>o</sup> usque 4<sup>m</sup> diem Junii prox. sequent per 96 dies utroq. die comput. 8s. vid<sup>t</sup> per diem 1d."

Duke of Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock), the King's uncle, which ultimately proved so disastrous to both parties, were for a short time suspended by the result of certain proceedings which occurred in the Palace of Westminster in November 1387. In the preceding year, the King had been obliged to submit to the appointment of a Council of State, invested with a power of control over every department of the government; so that his own authority was in a great degree superseded, and his favourites were disgraced. The commission was to continue in force twelve months, and the King took various steps to secure the resumption of his authority at the termination of that time, as well as to revenge himself on those by whom he had been constrained to submit to the obnoxious ordinances. But his counsels were betrayed by Sir Roger Fulthorpe, one of the judges, to the Earl of Kent, and by him made known to the Duke of Gloucester.

The confederated Barons being thus apprised of their danger, "gathered their power together, determining (at the approaching interview) to talke with the King with their armour vpon their backes, for their more suretie."\*

They therefore assembled in arms with their retainers, in Hornsey Park, and having prudently avoided the snares which had been laid for them, (including an ambush at the *Mews* near Charing Cross) they "proceeded to Westminster, with a strong power of men about them. The King, when he heard they were come, apparelled himselfe in his kingly robes, and with his scepter in hand came into the Great Hall at Westminster. The Lords, as soone as they had sight of him, made to him their humble obeisance, & went forth till they came to the nether steps going vp to the Kings seat of

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol ii. p. 786.

state, where they made their second obeisance; & then the King gave them countenance to come neerer to him, & they so did, kneeling downe before him, & foorthwith he rose from his place, and louinglie welcoming them, tooke each of them by the hand, and that doone sate him downe againe.”\*

The Bishop of Ely then demanded of the Lords, on the King's behalf, ‘wherefore they had assembled in arms at Hornsey;’ and was answered (after some general professions of loyalty) that the Lords had thus assembled for the profit both of the King and of the realm, and especially to remove his traitorous counsellors, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland; Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York; Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; Robert Tresilian, “that false justice;” and Nicholas Brembre, “that disloyall knight of London;—”and throwing their gauntlets upon the floor, they offered severally to prove their charges against those men by battle. The King interposed, and forbidding this mode of trial, promised that he would summon a Parliament early in the following year, in which justice should be done; in the mean time taking both the accusers and the accused into his protection, and thus obliging them to keep the peace. He then reproached the Lords with their presumption in taking arms, exclaiming—“Have I not armed men sufficient to have beaten you down, compassed about like deer in a toil, if I would? Truly, in this behalf, I make no more account of you than of the vilest scullion in my kitchen.” After this petulant sally, however, he assumed an air of courtesy, and graciously raising the Duke of Gloucester and other lords who had continued kneeling before him, he invited them into another apartment of the Palace, where they partook of refreshment together.

\* Holinshed's “Chronicles,” vol. ii. p. 787.



Notwithstanding this seeming concord, the still-continued excesses of the King's confidants, and his own duplicity, again induced the Lords, about "Christmas-tide," to proceed to London in hostile array, and under the precise threat, "without fail to choose another King," if Richard declined the interview which he had promised, they obtained a conference with him in his Palace at Westminster;—the result was, that the King submitted, unconditionally, to the measures which it was proposed to adopt for the expulsion from Court and severe punishment of his obnoxious ministers and favourites.\*

The Parliament, which had been summoned in conformity with the King's engagement, met at Westminster on the 3rd of February, 1388, and sat, with the exception of a short interval, until the 13th of June. The firmness and vigour with which the lords appellants and their adherents prosecuted their scheme of reform, and the extraordinary measures they adopted, caused this assembly to be termed the *wonder-working* Parliament. On the first day of the session, the King's judges (with the sole exception of Sir William Skip-

\* Among the persons adjudged deserving of expulsion from the Court, were Nevil, Archbishop of York; Fordham, Bishop of Durham; Rushbroke, Bishop of Chichester, the King's confessor; Lord Zouche, of Haringworth; Lord Burrell; Lord Beaumont; and Aubrey de Vere, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Adderbury, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Lovell, knts.; together with "certaine ladies who were thought to doo much harme about the King." The following persons were committed to prison:—Sir Simon Burley; William Elmham; John Beauchamp of Holt, steward of the King's Household; Sir John Salisbury; Sir Thomas Trivet; Sir James Berners; Sir Nicholas Dagworth, and Sir Nicholas Brember, who had been Mayor of London in 1384, 5, and 6; together with three of the royal chaplains, "and Nicholas Selake, deane of the King's chappell, *whose word might doo much in the court.*"

with,) were arrested, as they were sitting in their places on the bench; and these dignitaries, who had prostituted the authority of the judicial station to gratify a weak monarch and his rapacious courtiers, were arraigned as criminals at the bar of national justice. The Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and the Archbishop of York, who were among the more prominent objects of this retributive prosecution, had evaded personal punishment by voluntary expatriation; but Brembre and Tresilian were put to death, the former being beheaded, and the latter hanged at Tyburn. Several others were punished capitally, and the rest by forfeiture and banishment.\* The ascendancy which the Lords had now obtained was for a time submitted to by Richard with seeming content; and he diverted his chagrin by a recurrence to those amusements in which magnificence and pageantry were pretty equally blended, and to which he continued attached during his whole life.

Among the entries on the Chancellor's Roll (before cited) of the 11th of Richard the Second, of payments made by the Sheriffs of London, (Hugh Fastolff and William Venour) from Michaelmas 1387 to the same festival in the ensuing year, are the following items:—To the heirs of Richard Leveland, "*pro Custodia Domus apud Westm.*" 10*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* To the Chaplain, for celebrating Divine Service in the Chapel at Westminster 3*l.* 10*s.* For Oil for the Queen's Lamps, 1*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*

Although Richard had acquiesced in the deprivation of power, and submitted for awhile with apparent calmness to the tutelage of his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, he at length determined to resume his sovereign state and prerogative;

\* See Holinshed's "*Chronicles*," vol. ii. pp. 792—796; Stow's "*Chronicles*," pp. 485—488; and "*Rot. Parl.*" vol. iii. p. 237.

and according to Knyghton, it was at a Council held at Westminster, on the 3rd of May 1389, that he announced his resolution to take the reins of government into his own hands. Addressing himself to the Duke of Gloucester, he requested to know his own age. ‘Your Highness,’ replied the Duke, ‘is in your twenty-second year.’ ‘Then,’ returned the King, ‘I am of years sufficient to govern my own house and family, and also my kingdom. Every person at the age of twenty-one is held capable of managing his own affairs ; and wherefore should I be deprived of a privilege that may be claimed by the meanest subject of the realm. I have, as ye know, been long ruled by tutors, and restrained from doing anything of the least importance without their permission ; but I am determined that they shall meddle no further with matters pertaining to my government, and after the manner of an heir come to lawful age, I will call to my council those whom I think proper, and dismiss from it others, at my own pleasure.’ He followed up his declaration by demanding the Great Seal from the Chancellor (Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York,) and it having been delivered to him, he placed it in his bosom, and quitted his Council. Returning in a short time, he took the keys of the Exchequer from the Bishop of Hereford, chose a new treasurer, re-modelled the Council, appointed new judges, and removing the Earl of Arundel, gave the “admiralty of the sea,” to his uterine brother the Earl of Huntingdon—who was the youngest son of Richard’s mother by her second husband, Thomas, Lord Holland.

These singular transactions, as appears from a memorandum entered on the Close Rolls,\* took place in *Marcolf’s Chamber*, within the Palace ;—and in the same apartment on the following day, May the 4th, he gave the seal to the cele-

\* “ Rot. Claus.” 12th Rich. II. m. 5. d.



brated William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (who had before been Chancellor in the reign of Edward the Third,) in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishops of Hereford, Exeter, and Salisbury; Edmund, Duke of York, and other peers and great men.\* On the following day, divers grants, writs, and letters patent were sealed by the Chancellor, in his Court in the Great Hall.

On the 13th of July 1389, (13th Rich. II.) by writ tested by the King at Windsor, the celebrated poet *Geoffrey Chaucer* was appointed Clerk of the Works at the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, and the Mews near Charing Cross—"Charyng-crouch,"—and at various other castles and manors, during pleasure, at the wages of two shillings per day.† It seems probable, that this office was granted to

\* Rot. Claus 12th Rich. II. m. 5 d.

† "Rot. Patent," 13th Rich. II. p. 1, m. 30.—Chaucer had been introduced to court in the reign of Edward the Third, and is supposed by Godwin to have been placed near the person of John of Gaunt, Edward's third son, as his poetical preceptor. He appears to have been held in much favour by the King, and was employed in various secret negotiations beyond sea. In June 1367, the King, by his writ of privy seal, tested at Queenborough Castle, granted him a pension of 20 marks for his good services as groom or valet—"valettus noster."—In another record, quoted by his biographer Speght, as entered on the "Pellis Exituum Scaccarii" of the 45th of Edward the Third, he is called "valettus hospitii." In 1370, Chaucer, after a lingering courtship of ten years, was married to a lady who had been one of the *domicellæ*, or maids of honour, to Queen Philippa. In 1374, King Edward granted him a pitcher of wine,—"*unam pycher vini*"—to be delivered to him daily by the King's butler, or his *locum tenens*, in the port of London. Being appointed the King's "*Scutifer*," or Shield-bearer in 1375, the wardship was assigned to him under that appellation, of Edmund Stapelgate, who was a co-claimant with the Earl of Arundel for the right of officiating as chief butler at the Coronation of Richard the Second. In February and April 1377, he had the royal protection to proceed beyond sea on the King's secret business. After a reverse of fortune, and an imprisonment of nearly three years for endeavouring (in conjunction with others) to effect some popular reforms in the City of London, he was released

Chaucer more with the view of providing him with a salary under the crown, than from any skill which he possessed in architectural science; yet in the following year, and exactly on that day twelvemonth upon which his appointment had been signed, he received the royal mandate to proceed to the restoration of the Collegiate Chapel of St. George, at Windsor; which is described as being in a state of ruin. By another precept (tested, like the latter one, at Westminster, on the same day) William Hanney, the then Controller of the works at the Palace of Westminster, &c. was directed to verify the accounts of the said Geoffrey, for the repairs of the said Chapel, in order that the same should be discharged at the King's Exchequer.\* In January 1391, Chaucer appointed a deputy clerk of the works, but he was himself superseded a few months afterwards by John Gedney, who following his predecessor's example, appointed a deputy on the 16th of September in the same year, and who continued in office during the 15th and 16th years of Richard II. †

The excessive fondness of the King for show and pageantry, and the vast expenses of his household, where profusion

from confinement; and soon afterwards, as stated above, he was appointed Clerk of the King's Works at Westminster, &c. Other grants were made to him in the same reign, and among them was that of having delivered to him annually, in December, a tun of wine—"unum dolium vini," by the hands of the King's chief butler, or his deputy, in the port of London. On Christmas eve 1399, (1st of Henry IV.) although he was then seventy-one years of age, he completed an agreement for a lease for fifty-three years, of a tenement and its appurtenances within the garden of St. Mary's Chapel at Westminster (on the site of which Henry the VIIth's Chapel now stands) at the rent of 53s. 4d. per annum. He died on the 25th of October 1400, most probably in the house which he had so recently taken, and was interred in the south transept of the Abbey Church, where a monument was erected for him in the latter part of the reign of Edward VI.

\* "Rot. Patent." 14th Rich. II. p. 1. m. 33.

† Idem, 15th. Rich. II. p. 1. m. 24.

and profligacy were blended in riotous association, occasioned frequent and arbitrary demands upon the people for the means necessary to maintain such a long-continued course of extravagance. This was especially the case in 1392, when, on the refusal of the citizens of London to grant a loan of 1,000*l* to the self-willed and irascible monarch, (as well as from the additional offence of assailing and wounding a Lombard merchant who had proffered to lend him that sum,) the Mayor and Sheriffs were committed to prison, the franchises of the corporation were annulled, and the city was subjected to the sole government of a Custos, or warden, appointed by the King; the Courts of Justice were removed from Westminster, to York and Nottingham; and numerous modes of intimidation were employed to compel the Londoners to purchase the restoration of their chartered rights:—and not unsuccessfully, for “the end of these things was a money matter.” After much intercession, and the subsequent payment of 10,000*l*, “collected of the commons in great bitterness of mind,” (besides the exaction of many valuable presents), the Citizens obtained a full restitution of their ancient privileges. On this occasion, and as though it were to signalize the triumph of the sovereign over his aggrieved people, the King and his royal consort, with a splendid cortège were conducted through the City in grand procession to the Palace at Westminster;\* where, shortly afterwards,

\* On his progress from Shene, the King was met at Wandsworth by four hundred of the principal citizens on horseback, clothed in a uniform livery; and at St. George's Church, Southwark, the procession was joined by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, (who had been a strong intercessor in favour of the citizens), and all the city clergy. At London Bridge, the King was presented “with two faire white steedes, trapped with cloth of golde, parted of red and white, hanged full of silver bells.” The streets, as he passed on, were flanked with the city companies in their respective liveries, who saluted him with loyal acclamations. The conduit in *Chepe* poured forth red and white wine; and at



the King was presented by 'the mayor and his brethren' with two gilt basins, each containing 1,000 nobles of gold, and an altar table of silver gilt, "and therein imagery graven and enamelyd moste curyously, of the story of Seynte Edward," of the value of 1,000 marks,—for which the King "gave vnto them many comfortable wordys." \*

the *Standard* was erected a sumptuous stage, upon which were divers personages in rich apparel, among whom was a child, "angel like," who set a very costly "crowne of golde, garnysshyd with stone and perle, vpon the kynge's hede as he passyd by." Many other presents of great value, including a golden tablet of the Trinity, worth 800*l.* and another tablet of St. Anne (given to the Queen because of her special devotion to that Saint, whose name she bore), were made to the King and his consort on their onward progress to Westminster, where in the Great Hall, "the King sitting in his seat roiall, and all the people standing before him," the citizens were greeted with thanks on the King's behalf, for the great honour and princely presents which they had bestowed upon him, and every man was then enjoined to return to his business and affairs.—See Stow's "Chronicles," p. 493; Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 819; and Fabyan's "Chronicles," p. 537.

\* Fabyan states, that the above gift was soon afterwards offered by the King at the shrine of St. Edward in the Abbey Church at Westminster, "where yet," he continues, "it standys at this daye;" but the latter words were omitted in the edition of his "Chronicles" published in 1542.—From different records printed in the "*Foedera*," from the Patent Rolls of the 15th and 16th years of Richard II. it would seem that the liberties of the City were seized into the King's hands in the spring of 1392; that on the supplication of the Queen consort and others, the citizens obtained their full pardon on the 19th of September following, and that the King's acquittance, or receipt, for the sum of 10,000*l.* by which the city was finally exonerated from all payment of farther demands, was tested at Westminster on the 28th of February 1393. The procession described above took place, according to Stow, on the 29th of August in the preceding year. So extraordinary was the gratitude conceived by the citizens for the services rendered to them by Bishop Braybroke, in averting by his intercession the farther effusions of the King's wrath, that not only the Mayor and Aldermen, but also "all the craftys of the cytie in theyr lyuereys" were accustomed to visit the Bishop's tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral at nine different times of the year, until the period of the Reformation, and there say '*De profundis*' for his soul and the souls of all Christian people.

The death of the Queen, Anne of Bohemia, at the Palace of Shene, on the 7th of June 1394, affected the King severely; and in the extravagance of his grief, he passionately cursed the place of her decease, and commanded the buildings to be destroyed. On the 3rd of August following, the funeral of his consort was solemnised with great pomp in the Abbey Church at Westminster.\* “Violent sorrows,” says the adage, “are seldom lasting;” so it proved with Richard, for in little more than a twelvemonth after this bereavement, he despatched ambassadors to negotiate for him a second marriage with Isabella, the eldest daughter of Charles the VIth, King of France;—and his nuptials with that princess were celebrated in the Church of Saint Nicholas at Calais, on October the 31st 1396.† Early in November, the King returned to England with his young bride (who was then only in the eighth year of her age,) and on the 14th of the same month, he brought her to the Palace at Westminster, “with all the honour that might be devised,”—but “there went such a multitude to see her, that nine persons were crowded to death upon London Bridge.” She was crowned in the Abbey Church, on the 7th of January following.

The King’s accustomed extravagance, with the expenses

\* “*Fœdera*,” tom. iii. pars iv. p. 98, edit. 1740. The contracts made in 1395, for the erection of a tomb in the Abbey Church, to the memory of Richard and Queen Anne, will be found in the same volume, pp. 105, 106.

† On the occasion of this marriage, which was ostensibly promoted with a view of effecting a durable peace between the two crowns, the Kings of England and France entertained each other with great magnificence in sumptuous pavilions erected on the verge of their respective territories between Ardres and Calais; the most costly presents were interchanged by the two monarchs, and rich gifts were made by them to each other’s suites. Vide Fabian’s “*Chronicles*,” p. 540: Ellis’s edit. and Froissart’s “*Chronicles*,” vol. xi. chap. xl. Johnes’s translation.

of his late marriage, having entirely exhausted the contents of his exchequer, although a very considerable aid had been granted by the Parliament which met at Westminster about a fortnight after the Queen's coronation, he devised new and extraordinary modes of extortion to replenish his coffers. Among these, was the compelling the most affluent of his subjects to set their seals to blank charters, which were afterwards filled up with whatsoever sums he thought proper to exact.\* Yet scarcely any treasure, however immense, could suffice for his profuse expenditure. His Palace was the scene of the utmost prodigality, as well as of licentiousness; and his household servitors were more numerous than were ever retained either before or since by an English King.† He had now entered on a career of open and unrestrained despotism; and oppression, treachery, and murder followed

\* It appears from the "Fœdera," that the forced loans which the King obtained from the City in its corporate capacity, in this year, amounted to 10,000 marks; and in 1398, he exacted a yet larger sum from individual citizens by means of the blank grants above noticed. These grants were called '*Rag-gemans*;' and they were subsequently burnt at the Standard in *Chepe*, and other public places, in pursuance of an order of Parliament.

† Hardyng, in his rhyming "Chronicle," pp. 346, 347, furnishes a curious picture of the multitudinous and profligate character of Richard's household; and his relation is corroborated by some proceedings of the first Parliament held in 1397, when the Commons, on the suggestion of Sir Thomas Haxey, a clergyman, recommended, that 'the great and excessive charge of the King's household—"1' Hostel du Roy"—should be amended, and the multitude reduced—"amenusez"—of the bishops (who had lordships), and ladies with their servants—"leur meignee" who lived in the King's house, and at his cost.' ("Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 339, No. 14.) The King was so greatly irritated by this interference with his pleasures, that within a week afterwards, so uncontrollably despotic was his authority, he caused Haxey to be condemned to suffer death as a traitor, by an *ex post facto* law. The intercession of the prelates, however, saved the poor criminal from immediate death, and he was finally pardoned on the 27th of May.—Idem. Appendix, pp. 407, 408.—The information given us by Hardyng is as follows:



in his train. His recent alliance with the royal family of France, as Dr. Lingard has remarked, “encouraged Richard to execute a scheme of vengeance, which he had long cherished within his own breast;” and one of his first victims was his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, who had incensed him by the spirit and frequency of his admonitions.\* Having by the basest dissimulation, prevailed on the Duke to quit his castle at Pleshy, in his own company, he caused him to be arrested by surprise, and conveyed to Calais, where shortly afterwards,

“ Truly I herd *Robert Ireliffe* say,  
*Clerke of the grene cloth*, that to the household  
 Came every daye, for moost partie alwaye,  
 Ten thousand folke by his mess is tould,  
 That folowed the hous, aye, as thei would;  
 And in the kechin three hundred servitours,  
 And in eche office many occupiours.

“ And ladies faire with their gentilwomen,  
 Chamberers also and lavenders,  
 Three hundred of them were occupied then :  
 Ther was greate pride among the officers,  
 And of al menne far passyng their compeers,  
 Of riche araye, and muche more costious  
 Than was before or sith, and more precious.

“ Greate lechery and fornicacion  
 Was in that house, and also greate advoutree,  
 Of paramours was greate consolacion  
 Of eche degre, well more of prelacie  
 Then of the temporall er of the chivalrie.  
 Greate tax, ay, the King tooke through all the lond,  
 For whiche the Commons hym hated, both free and bond.”

\* One of the more immediate causes of Richard's vengeance, as appears from Fabyan, was a very singular and reproachful conversation which took place between him and the Duke in the royal Palace, respecting the delivering up of Brest to the Duke of Bretagne. The Duke of Gloucester was led to the subject by the conduct of some of the returned soldiers at “a sumptuose feest” in the Great Hall.—Vide “Chronicles,” p. 541.

on the 8th of September 1397, he was put to death by the King's order, by being smothered between two feather beds.\*

Similar treachery to that employed in alluring the Duke of Gloucester to his destruction, was practised against the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, who, together with John Lord Cobham, and Sir John Cheney, were seized and committed to the Tower. As it was known that they had all been concerned in the proceedings against Richard's favourites in the 10th and 11th years of his reign, their arrest occasioned a great excitement among the people; and the King, in order to tranquillize it, issued a proclamation, falsely stating (in substance) that 'the prisoners were not charged in respect to any former offences, but for far more recent transgressions, and that they would be tried for treasonable designs in the next Parliament;'—which had been summoned to meet at Westminster, after the octaves of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and of the entire devotion of which to his own vindictive purposes he was already assured.†

Still farther to ensure the execution of his designs, the King 'ordered all the lords of his own party to attend in arms, accompanied by archers; and he also formed a body-guard of Cheshire men in whom he placed entire confidence.'‡ On

\* This appears, from the confession of one of the assassins who was sworn to its truth in the house of the Constable of England, in the Inner Palace of Westminster.—"Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 452.

† By removing all such sheriffs, magistrates, and public officers as were conceived to be inimical to his tyranny, and replacing them with his own immediate partizans, Richard had procured the return to this Parliament of whatsoever knights and burgesses could be depended on for their subserviency to his own views. This is the earliest instance upon record of a completely packed House of Commons (but the example was not forgotten in after ages), and the atrocity of its proceedings were in full accordance with what might readily have been foreseen in an assembly thus illegally constituted.

‡ Otterbourne, "Chronica Reg. Angl." p. 191, ed. a. Hearne, Oxon. 1732. Hardyng, in his "Chronicle," p. 346, speaking of the same circumstance, says,

proceeding from Northampton to Westminster to open the Parliament, he was accompanied by a most formidable force, composed of the knights and esquires who wore his livery and badge of the White Hart. The session commenced on the 17th of September; but the *Great Hall* being then under repair, (as will be more particularly shewn in our description of that edifice) the Parliament was held in "a large House which Richard had caused to be builded for that purpose in the midst of the Palace Court, betwixt the Clocke tower and the gate of the Great Hall: this house was very large and long, made of tymber, covered with tyle, open on both the sides, and at both the endes, that all men might see and heare what was both sayde and done. The King's archers (in number 4,000 Cheshire men) compassed the house about with their bowes bent, and arrowes nocked in their hands, always readie to shoote: they had bouch of Court, (to wit, meate and drinke) and great wages of sixpence by the day."\* Some additional information is afforded by Otterbourne, who says that,—'as the captive noblemen were to be tried in this Parliament on charges of treason, the king for the accom-

————— "Then he had, eche daye  
Twoo hundred menne of Chesshyre wher he laye,  
To watche hym aye.—

He trusted none of all his region,  
But Chesshire menne for his proteccion.  
Wherever he rode, with arowes and bowes bent,  
Thei were with hym, aye, redy at his entent."

Walsingham says, "*Interea Rex sibi metuens, convocavit ad tutelam sui corporis multos malefactores de Com. Cestriæ, qui noctium vigilias dierumq. servarent et dividerent circa illum.*" "*Script. Angl. et Norm.*" p. 354.—The attachment of the Cheshire men may be accounted for, by the King having advanced the Earldom of Cheshire into a Principality.

\* Stow's "*Survey of London*," p. 471, 4to, 1603.



modation of the parties interested in these proceedings, caused a spacious building "*domus—*" to be erected "*in palatio Westmonasterii,*" in which a lofty throne was prepared for himself; and for all the states of the realm, a large space: for the appellants a space was specially allotted on one side; and, on the other side, a place was assigned to the accused, that they might answer to the charges against them.' Apart also, were stationed the knights of Parliament, "*que non fuerunt electi per comitatem [communitatem] ut mos exigit, sed per regiam voluntatem.*"\*

The consequent proceedings of this assembly were among the most extraordinary ever recorded in our annals, and they decidedly prove how entirely, at this juncture, the authority of the crown had superseded every principle of the constitution. Both the Commission of Regency and the Statute confirming it, (which had been passed in the 10th year of this reign) were revoked; together with all pardons, general and particular, which had been granted to the Barons associated in establishing that Commission, in the Parliament which the King, as it was now stated 'had been compelled—"*par coercion et compulsion*"—to hold at Westminster in his 11th year.† Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury was sentenced unheard to perpetual banishment, his temporalities being declared forfeited; his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was adjudged guilty of high treason, and in a few hours after, beheaded on Tower hill, without even the semblance of a trial; and the Earl of Warwick, was banished for life to the Isle of Man; his life being spared in consideration of his age and of his having pleaded guilty,—but he was ordered to be imprisoned in the Castle there.

Among the unprecedented acts of this Parliament, was the

\* "*Chron. Reg. Angl.*" p. 191.

† "*Rot. Parl.*" vol. iii. pp. 349, 350.

merciless endeavour to give a perpetual stability to its Ordinances, by subjecting every person, of whatsoever rank or degree, to all the penalties of high treason, who should in any manner, or at any time, *reverse, annul*, or in any degree *alter*, any of the statutes, settlements, and judgments, to be now made and determined; and on the last day of the session, the peers, both spiritual and temporal, severally took oath at the altar before the shrine of St. Edward, in the Abbey Church, to obey this ordinance. There also, the members of the Commons' house, at the request of the King, with a loud voice, and extending their right arms in token of affirmation, engaged to keep the same oath. To render these proceedings still more binding, the assembly then congregated at the high altar of the Church, where the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, enjoined every one within their respective provinces, to observe the laws thus solemnly promulgated, under pain of the greater excommunication.\* How strange, and how little to the credit of human foresight is the fact, that within little more than two years afterwards, almost every measure thus religiously sworn to be kept unaltered, was either abrogated or unscrupulously violated!

On the 26th of September, the King being seated in full Parliament, crowned, and bearing the royal sceptre in his hand, advanced several of his peers to greater dignities, (the investiture, in each instance, being performed by the King himself):—namely, Henry de Bolinbroke (son of John of Gaunt) Earl of Derby, was created Duke of Hereford; Edward, Earl of Rutland, and Constable of England, was made Duke of Aumarle; Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey;

\* “Rot. Parl.” vol. iii. pp. 352—356.—The Pope’s Bulls threatening “grievous censures and curses against all such as did by anie means go about to breake and violate the said statutes,” were afterwards obtained by the King to strengthen the proceedings of this Parliament.—Holinshed’s “Chronicles,” vol. ii. p. 244.

John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, (who had been a chief instrument in the late atrocities) Duke of Norfolk; John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and Constable of Dover Castle, Marquis of Dorset; Thomas, Lord le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester; Ralph de Nevill, Earl of Westminster; Thomas de Percy, Earl of Worcester; and William le Scrop, Earl of Wiltshire; Margaret Mareschal, Countess of Norfolk (though absent) was on the same day created Duchess of Norfolk. The Parliament was then prorogued to Shrewsbury, to be there holden on the quindisme of St. Hilary,\* or 27th of the following January,

Prior to the re-assembling of the three estates, a circumstance occurred which, in its consequences, had an almost immediate effect in altering the succession to the crown, and eventually of producing the long-continued and sanguinary wars between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster. In an accidental conversation between the newly-made Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, the latter stated that it was the King's intention to destroy them both (as soon as opportunity served), together with the several other nobles who had been instrumental in controlling his power in former years. For his own security, the Duke of Hereford divulged this information to the King and Council, but as Norfolk solemnly denied the charge, and accused the Duke of Hereford as a traitor for making it, the controversy was referred to the decision of the High Court of Chivalry. For this purpose, the barons,

\* On a certain day, during the sitting at Westminster, as appears from Stow, "licence being had to depart, a great sturre was made, as is vsed, whereupon the King's Archers, in number foure thousand compassed the Parliament house, thinking there had beene in the house some broyle or fighting, with their bowes bent, and drawing, ready to shoote, to the terror of all that were there; but the King herewith comming, pacified them."—Stow's "Chronicles," p. 510.



bannerets, and knights of England, were summoned to meet at Windsor in the ensuing month of April; and their award was, that the two noble disputants should join issue in *Wager of Battle*, to be fought at such time and place as the King should determine. After some irresolution on the part of the latter, Coventry was fixed upon for the scene of combat; and on the appointed day, September the 16th, the rival Dukes entered the lists fully armed, on horseback, in the presence of the King and an immense multitude of spectators; the whole nation taking a strong interest in these proceedings. To the surprise of every one, however, the King threw down his warder at the instant when the knights were about to commence the conflict; on the pretext of saving his own blood from disgrace, (both combatants being related to him,) and preventing future discord between their families. After some consultation on the field with his immediate adherents, the despotic sovereign passed sentence of banishment for ten years on the Duke of Hereford, and banishment for life on the Duke of Norfolk; but the sentence on the former was afterwards lowered to six years.

These disgraceful transactions increased the general discontent which Richard's conduct had already excited in every part of the kingdom, and conjoined with his subsequent acts of extortion and tyranny, so effectually undermined his power, that an opportunity was soon found to hurl him from his throne. An insurrection broke out in Ireland, and the King, with imprudent security, resolving to quell it in person, departed thither with the chief part of his forces. In his absence, the disaffected gathering strength, invited the banished Duke of Hereford, (who had now indeed, by the death of his father,

“ Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,”

become Duke of Lancaster) to head them; and that noble-

man landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with only eighty men, was received so cordially, that within a few days his army was increased to 60,000 strong. The Duke marched to London, and was received by the citizens with loud acclamations of joy; and so successful were his measures, that within eight weeks afterwards the King was brought a captive to the Tower, where on the 29th of September 1399, he made a formal renunciation of the royal authority; adding, that if it were in his power to name his successor, he should choose 'his Cousin of Lancaster,' who was present, and upon whose finger, in confirmation of this desire, he placed his signet ring, which he had taken from his own finger for the purpose.\*

On the following day (September the 30th), the Parliament which had been summoned in Richard's name, by writs issued at Chester on the 19th of August, assembled in the *Great Hall* at Westminster, "which they had hung and trimmed sumptuously, and had caused to be set vp a royall chaire, in purpose to choose a newe king, neere to the which the prelates were sat, and on the other side sate the Lords, and after, the Commons in order."† The Duke of Lancaster was seated in his proper place, but the assembly was without any president, the royal seat being necessarily vacant. As a preliminary act, the renunciation of Richard was read aloud by the Archbishop of York; after which 'the Archbishop of Canterbury demanded of the States and People then present, whether, for their own interest and the welfare of the realm, they would admit the cession so made?'—and this being answered in the affirmative, amidst reiterated shouts of approbation, a final sentence of deposition was solemnly pronounced against the late king.

These proceedings made way for the claim of the Duke of

\* "Rot. Parl." vol. iii. pp. 416, 417. † Stow's "Chronicles," p. 522.

Lancaster, who after a moment of anxious suspense, rising from his seat, and with much solemnity, making the sign of the Cross on his forehead and breast, asserted his right to the crown in the following terms: "In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this realm of England, and the Crown, with all the members and appurtenances; as that I am descended by right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry III.; and through the right that God, of his grace, hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the good laws."\*

The validity of this claim being at once admitted by the assembly, Henry produced in confirmation, the signet ring which had been delivered to him by the deposed sovereign, and was forthwith led to the throne by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Having spent a few minutes in silent prayer, kneeling upon the steps, he was placed in the royal seat by the two Archbishops. When the acclamations of the people had subsided, the primate shortly addressed the assembly on the advancing prosperity of the nation, and the new-made King briefly returned thanks to all present for their decision. He then made various appointments in the state and household, and afterwards received the oaths of the new officers: the business of this eventful day was concluded by a Proclamation, that a new Parliament would be held, at the same place, on the Monday next following (October 6th); and that on St. Edward's Anniversary, being that day week, the Coronation would be solemnized. Henry then retired in state to the royal apartments within the Palace, and this important assembly, by which one

\* "Rot. Parl." vol. iii. pp. 422, 423.



monarch had been deposed and another chosen, was finally dissolved on the same day that had given it existence.

*Parliaments held at Westminster in the reign of Richard II.*

October 13, . . . . .	1377	October 1, . . . . .	1386
April 25, . . . . .	1379	February 3, . . . . .	1388
Monday after the feast of		January 17, . . . . .	1390
St. Hilary (Jan. 13,) 1380		November 12, . . . . .	1390
November 4, . . . . .	1381	November 3, . . . . .	1391
This Parliament was origin-		The Quindene of St. Hilary	
ally summoned to meet on		(Jan. 27,) . . . . .	1394
the Monday after the Exalt-		January 27, . . . . .	1395
ation of the Cross; but it		January 22, . . . . .	1397
was prorogued to Nov. 4.		Monday after the Exaltation	
May 7, . . . . .	1382	of the Cross, (Septem-	
October 6, . . . . .	1382	ber 14,) . . . . .	1397
February 23, . . . . .	1383	This Parliament was adjourn-	
October 26, . . . . .	1383	ed to Shrewsbury, January	
November 12, . . . . .	1384	27, 1398.	
Friday after St. Luke's day,		September 30, . . . . .	1399
(Oct. 18,) . . . . .	1385		

Previously to the Coronation of Henry IV., a Court of Claims was held in the *White Hall* at Westminster, by Thomas, the King's second son, (a youth of five years of age) who had been appointed Seneschal, and was assisted in the duties of his office by Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester. On this occasion, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, advanced the new claim of carrying on the left side of the King, in the coronation procession, *a naked sword*, called the *Lancaster Sword*, being the same with which the latter had been girded when he landed at Ravenspur,—“in partibus Holderness,”—“the Isle of Man having been recently granted by the King to the Earl and his heirs, to hold in

perpetuity, by such service, to the crown.' The claim was of course allowed; although it is somewhat remarkable, that the grant of the Isle of Man to the Earl was not signed until the sixth day after the coronation, but it was then tested by the King at Westminster.\*

On Saturday October the 11th, the King for the purposes of the approaching ceremony, went to the Tower, where after the celebration of mass on the next morning, he advanced forty-six esquires and gentlemen, (who, as Froissart says, "had watched their arms during that night,")† to the rank of Knights of the Bath, his three sons being among them. On the same day he proceeded to Westminster escorted by a cavalcade of 6,000 horse; including his own immediate attendants, and the City companies, in their respective liveries. The streets were decorated with tapestries and other rich hangings, and in Cheapside and the line of the procession, were nine fountains continually flowing with white and red wine; independently of another fountain in the Palace court, giving issue to similar liquids "from various mouths."

On the following day, the King having 'confessed himself,' Froissart quaintly remarks 'as he had good need to do,'—and heard three masses, 'as was his wont,' proceeded to the Abbey Church, the dukes, earls, and barons, who attended him, 'wearing long scarlet robes, with mantles trimmed with ermine and large hoods of the same,' whilst 'all the knights

\* Vide "Fœdera," tom. iii. pars iv. pp. 164, 165. Of the other claims made at this time, a full account will be found in Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. iii. pp. 1—3: edit. 1808.

† "Chronicles," vol. xii. p. 160, Johnes's translation. Froissart further states, "that each esquire had his chamber and bath; and that the King, after their creation, presented the knights "with long green coats having straight sleeves joined with minever, after the manner of prelates; and, attached to the left shoulder, a double cord of white silk, with white tufts hanging down."

and squires had uniform cloaks of scarlet lined with mine-ver.\* The King was crowned by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, (who having accompanied him to England, had been restored to his See, \*) who was assisted in his performance of the ceremonies by the Archbishop of York, and ten other prelates. The oil used in anointing the King was contained in a small vial, inclosed in a golden eagle, to which a legend was attached, scarcely less wonderful than that connected with *la Sainte Ampoule* used in the coronation of the Kings of France.† It was said to have been delivered to St. Thomas à Becket by the Virgin Mary,—(whilst the Archbishop was in banishment at Sens,) with an assurance of ‘the happiest effects upon those sovereigns who should be anointed with it, and who would become true champions of the Church.’ After a long concealment in the Church of St. Gregory, at Poitiers, this miraculous gift was discovered by revelation to a certain holy man, and by him conveyed to England in the reign of Edward the Third, and presented to John of Gaunt, whose brother the Black Prince ordered it to be deposited in a strong chest in the Tower;—where it had remained unused, until the present occasion.‡

At the subsequent banquet in the Great Hall, according to Froissart, the two Archbishops and seventeen Bishops sat with the King at his table; but Fabyan mentions only the two primates and *seven* other prelates. The champion, Sir

\* Archbishop Arundel had originally received the pall in St. Stephen’s Chapel, within the Palace, on the 10th of February, 1396.

† The *Holy Oil* of the French Kings is reported to have been brought in a vial from Heaven by a celestial dove at the coronation of Clovis of France, about the end of the 5th Century;—and to have remained ever since undiminished, notwithstanding its constant use at the inaugurations of the French sovereigns.

‡ MSS. Cotton. Faust. B. ix. No. 2, fol. 240; and Walsingham, *in init.* Henry IV.



Thomas Dymmok, (who officiated in right of Margaret his mother,) entered at the second course, armed *cap-a-pie*, mounted upon a goodly steed, barbed, with crimson housings' and his challenge was proclaimed by a herald, in the usual manner, in different parts of the Hall;—with many more observances, which, as Fabyan remarks, "were longe to rehearse." The following particulars of the Coronation feast are derived from a Manuscript in the British Museum.\*

*Convivium D'ni Henr. Regis quarti, in Coronacione sua, apud Westmon.*

*Le Premier Cours.*

Braun en Peverarde [459]; † Viande Ryal [455]; Teste de Senglere enarmez—*Boar's Head enarmed*; Graund chare; ‡ Synguetty—*Cygnets*?; Capoun de haut grece; § Fesaunte—*Pheasant*; Heroun—*Heron*; Crustade Lumbarde; Storieoun—*Sturgeon*; graunt luc; A Sotelte—*Subtelly*. ||

\* Vide Bibl. Cotton. &c.

† The numbers inclosed between brackets refer to the pages of a Treatise on "Ancient Cookery," published from a MS. in the Library of the Royal Society, at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries, 4to 1790: in which the particular composition of the dishes mentioned is given at length.

‡ "Grete fleshe" (*chair*) is the name of one of the dishes in a bill of fare for a royal feast in the reign of Richard II. Vide "Antiquarian Repertory," vol. i. p. 78; from a MS. in the Harl. Lib. No. 4016.

§ In the MS. just quoted, occur "i Capon of hie grece," and "viii Dussen other Capons."

|| The *Sotylties* mentioned by Fabyan, as garnishing the royal table at the Coronation feast of Henry the Sixth, were those of St. Edward and St. Lewis, armed, holding a figure of the King "atwene them;"—the Emperor Sigismund and Henry the Vth, with the King "knelynge to fore theym;"—and "our Lady, syttynge with her Childe in her lappe," holding a crown, with St. George and St. Denis, kneeling, and presenting to her the young King: a "balade," or rather verse, of eight lines, was attached to each device.

*Le ii Cours.*

Venyson en Furmenty—*Venison in Frumenty*; Gely—*Jelly*; Porcelle farce enforce—*Young Pigs stuffed*; Pekokkys, *Peacocks* [439]; Cranys—*Cranes*; Venysoun Paste—*Venison Pasty*; Touyng—*Tongue*; Byttore—*Bitterns*; Pufl endore—*Fowls Gilded*; Graunt Tartez—*Large Tarts*; Braun fryez—*Rashers of Ham or Brawn*; Leche Lumbarde [472]; A Sotelte.

*Le iii cours.*

Blaundesorye [429—454]; Quyncys in comfyte—*Quinces in confection*; Egretez—*Young Eagles*; Curlewys—*Curlews*; Pertryche—*Partridges*; Pyconys—*Pigeons*; Quailys—*Quails*; Snytys—*Snipes*; Smal byrdys—*Small Birds*; Rabettys—*Rabbits*; Pome dorres [472]; Braun blanke leche—*White Brawn sliced*; Eyrenn engele—*Eggs in Jelly* [471]; Fry-tourys—*Fritters*; Doucettys—*Sweetmeats*; Pety pernaunt; —Egse—*Eggs*; Pottys of lylte: A Sotelte.

The Parliament re-assembled in the Great Hall on the day after the coronation, and immediately abrogated all the vindictive and illegal statutes and ordinances which King Richard had taken such extraordinary pains to render immutable. A particular enactment was also made to invalidate the obnoxious Bulls which at his request, and for the same purpose, had been issued by Pope Boniface the XIth; wherein it was expressly declared that, "the Kingdom of England was independent of all foreign power, and particularly of the Court of Rome, and that the Pope had no right to interfere in the civil government of the realm."\* On the same day, in full Parliament, Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; the Lords and Com-

\* Rapin's "Hist. of England," vol. ii. p. 485. fol. edit. 1732.

mons having previously, and *severally*, given their assent to such creation, and also engaged to receive the Prince as the rightful heir to the crown and kingdom.\* Soon afterwards the Prince was made Duke of Aquitain, and Duke of Lancaster; and the Duchy of Lancaster was then entirely separated from the crown of England, and conferred upon the Prince and his heirs for ever, being Dukes of Lancaster, with all its liberties and franchises. † In the same Parliament, the deposed king was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, in *secret* and secure custody; the only dissentient voice being that of Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, who, for this interference in behalf of his ill-fated master, was forthwith arrested, and conveyed a prisoner to St. Alban's Abbey.

In the same session, (on October the 29th) one of the most extraordinary scenes occurred that ever took place in our national councils, and in which the angry discussions, accusations, and recriminations among the barons and knights, were altogether unprecedented. The Duke of Aumerle was accused of being a principal counsellor of the arbitrary measures of King Richard, and especially in advising the putting to death the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke of Surrey replied in his defence, and was himself accused by Lord Morley of treason both to the deposed and the present king. The opprobrious terms of liar and traitor were bandied about by both parties, until at length, the excitement became so strong, that upwards of twenty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor of the hall, as pledges of challenge and defence, in respect to these recriminatory accusations. It required all the address of King Henry to allay the storm; and as his

\* "Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 426.—The king himself performed the ceremony of investiture, by placing a circlet of gold upon the head of the young Prince, a ring of gold upon his finger, and a golden verge in his hand.

† Ibid. pp. 427, 428.



own power was not yet consolidated, he judged it prudent to employ a temporizing policy; in consequence of which those nobles who had been the most obviously implicated in the tyrannical measures of the late reign, were subjected to no further punishment than the forfeiture of those titles and estates with which their guilty subserviency had been rewarded. Hence the Dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset, and the Earl of Gloucester, each descended a step in the peerage, and were restrained to the use of their previous appellations.\* Within a short time after, however, several of the lords appellants entered into a conspiracy against the new King, and early in January 1400, they attempted to surprise him in the Castle of Windsor. But the plot had been discovered, and Henry was already in London, where he had issued writs for the apprehension of the rebellious lords as traitors, and was employed in levying troops to proceed against them. Shortly after, the Earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized and beheaded at Cirencester :

\* Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. iii. p. 7. "Rot. Parl." vol. iii. p. 449-52. In the same Parliament, several useful statutes were enacted to prevent the recurrence of those vindictive proceedings which had twice disgraced the last, and, from the temper of the lords, threatened to disgrace the present reign. One statute confined the guilt of treason to the offences enumerated in the celebrated act of Edward III; another abolished appeals of treason in Parliament, and sent the accuser to the established courts of law; a third declared that the authority of Parliament should never more be delegated to a Committee of lords and commons; and a fourth forbade, under the heaviest penalties, any person, except the King, to give liveries to his retainers. These badges had long been one of the principal expedients by which the great lords were enabled to increase their power, and to maintain their quarrels. Whoever wore the livery, was bound in honour to espouse the cause of the donor; and it was worn not only by those who received fees, or were engaged in actual services, but by as many as were willing to accept it as an honour, or in token of friendship, or with a view to future emolument. Vide Lingard's "History of England," vol. iii. p. 277; and "Rot. Parl." ut supra.

the lords Lumley and Despencer met with a similar fate at Bristol; and the Earl of Huntingdon was put to death by the tenants of the late murdered Duke of Gloucester, at Pleshy in Essex. This insurrection, in which the deposed King had been re-proclaimed at different places in the line of march of the conspirators, appears to have sealed the doom of that ill-fated sovereign; and before the end of January, it was known that Richard had expired in the castle of Pontefract, in Yorkshire;—but whether his death was occasioned by premeditated violence, or by voluntary starvation, has not been ascertained even to the present day.\*

The King was exceedingly anxious that a knowledge of Richard's decease should be generally promulgated, and for that purpose, according to the "Chronicle of Dunstable,"—"he lette sere him in a linnen clothe, save his *visage*," which "was left opyn that men myght see and knowe his personne,"—and had him brought to London, where he was exposed to public view during three days, in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was at first interred in the Church of the Friars Preachers at Langley in Hertfordshire; but Henry the Fifth, shortly after his coronation, caused his remains to be conveyed to the Abbey Church of Westminster, and deposited there within the tomb of Queen Anne, his first consort. †

\* See Lord Dover's "Dissertation on the manner and period of the death of Richard II.," (with additional remarks by the Editor,) in Brayley's "Graphic and Historical Illustrator," pp. 17-22. William de Colchester, Abbot of Westminster, is said to have been deeply implicated in the plot against Henry the IVth, and to have aided the discontented barons to concert their treason in "a secret chamber" within his own house. See the respective Chronicles of Hall and Holinshed.

† Vide Brayley's History of Westminster Abbey, vol. ii. pp. 104-112. By the Will of Richard II.,—which bears date at the Palace of Westminster, 16th April 1399, about nine months before his decease,—the monarch directs, that all his crowns, drinking vessels, cups, ewers, and golden vessels, and all other

King Henry, having lost his first wife, who was the daughter of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was again married on the 7th of February, 1403, in the Cathedral of Winchester, to the Princess Joan de Navarre, widow of John, Duke of Bretagne. On the 24th of the same month, she was "receyved with great honour into the cytie of London, and so by the mayre and cytezyns conveyed vnto Westmynster; where, vpon the morowe folowyng, she was crowned quene of Englande, with great honoure and solmepnyte.\*

In the Parliament which assembled at Westminster, in February 1410, the Commons displayed a strong disposition to lessen the revenue and curtail the power and influence of the ecclesiastics. They presented a bill to the King, authorizing the seizure of the temporalities of the church, alleging that the money thus obtained would be sufficient for the support of 'fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and one hundred alms-houses for the necessitous poor, besides affording a surplus of twenty thousand pounds a year for the royal treasury.' These reforming senators also required that clerks convicted should not be committed to the bishops' prisons, but be liable to the same

jewels of gold whatsoever, together with all his vestments, and the entire furniture belonging to the Chapel of his house, with all his beds, and hangings of Arras—' *Vestes de Aras*'—should remain to his successor, provided he conformed to his Will, and permitted his executors to act freely and fully.' Nichols's "Royal and Noble Wills," p. 194.

\* Fabyan's "Chronicles," p. 570. That writer, however, refers the arrival and marriage of the new Queen to the month of September, though erroneously, as appears by Holinshed's "Chron." vol. iii. p. 21; and Carte's "Hist. of England," vol. ii. p. 653. In the "Fœdera," (Hague Edit. tom. iv. pars. i. p. 75,) is a paper relative to the appropriation of a tower in the Royal Palace: "Nova Turris ad introitum magni Ostii magnæ Aulæ nostræ infra Palatium nostrum Westm."—to the use and service of the Queen (Joan.) Dated Westm. Dec. 10, 1404.



custody as other malefactors ; and they demanded the repeal, or mitigation, of the enactments in force against reputed heretics, or *Lollards*. But the King, who, in the beginning of his reign had assented to the severe laws against those seceders from the Established Church, in order to conciliate the clergy, and obtain their support to his assumption of the royal power, was not disposed to sanction this spoliation of his clerical and monastic friends, and refused to entertain the measures proposed by the Commons.\*

In the year 1412, the Palace of Westminster was the scene of a singular interview between Henry the Fourth and the Prince of Wales ; the latter of whom both history and tradition concur in representing as a gay and dissipated young man, though of high talent, ingenuous, and spirited. In the thoughtless moments of conviviality some imprudent and disrespectful expressions had been used by the Prince in regard to his father, which admitted of a malevolent interpretation, and it was artfully insinuated to the King by some court slanderers, that he ought to guard against the designs of an aspiring and unprincipled youth, who had a retinue

\* Walsingham, p. 379 ; and Fabian, p. 375.—The bill of the Commons was delivered, as was then usual, in the form of a Petition to the King ; but, after its rejection, the Clergy appear to have interfered to prevent any notice of the obnoxious bill from being entered on the Rolls of Parliament, which, therefore, present no trace of any such measure having been in contemplation ; except, possibly, the following memorandum.—“ Item, Saturday, February 8, the Commons came before the King and the Lords in Parliament, and among other things prayed our Lord the King that they might receive back a Petition which they had delivered to him in Parliament, touching the statute lately made about the Lollards, and which Petition had not been made an enactment. To this, the King answered, that, at their request, he would of his especial grace, see that they should on this occasion have the said Petition given up to them, but that such delivery must not be considered as an example to be followed in time to come.”—“ Rot. Parl.” vol. iii. p. 623.

more numerous than his own, and had uttered language inconsistent with his duty as a son and subject. Henry was alarmed at this intelligence, and the mistrust and jealousy which he consequently began to entertain, produced such a degree of coolness in his behaviour towards the Prince, that the latter determined to clear himself from suspicion by a solemn appeal both to the justice and the affections of his estranged parent.

With this intent, and accompanied by a numerous body of his personal friends, who had been especially summoned for the occasion, he went to the Palace on the festival of St. Peter and Paul (June the 29th), apparelled "in a gown of blue satin, or damask, made full of eyletts, or holes, and at every eylett the needle whereby it was made hanging still by the thread of silk; and about his arm he wore a dog's collar, set full of SS [esses] of gold, and the tirretts of the same also of fine gold."\* Leaving all his followers in the Great Hall, in which (by his previous order) "not one of his companie durst once advance himselfe farther than the fire in the same Hall, notwithstanding they were earnestlie requested by the lords to come higher,†" he proceeded to his father's apartments, attended only by some household officers. The King, who was at that time "greevously diseased," caused himself to be borne in a chair into the privy chamber, where, "in the presence of three or four persons, in whom he had much confidence," he sternly commanded his son to disclose the cause of his visit.

Kneeling reverently at his feet, the Prince averred his entire innocence of the evil designs imputed to him, and

\* Vide "Harl. MSS." No. 35, fol. 5. From a passage in Elmham's "Life of Henry the Vth," it appears that *tirrets* meant turrets, or small towers.

† Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. iii. p. 54.

then, delivering his dagger to the King, he declared that he wished not to live under his displeasure. "I have this daie," he continued, "made my selfe readie by confession and receiving of the sacrament; and I beseech you, most redoubted lord and deare father, for the honour of God, to ease your heart of all such suspicion as you haue of me, and to dispatch me heere before your knees, with this same dagger;—and in thus ridding me out of life, and your selfe from all suspicion, here, in the presence of these lords, and before God at the daie of the generall iudgement, I faithfullie protest clearlie to forgiue you."

Affected by his words and manner, the King hastily cast away the dagger, and embracing his son, with tears, assured him, on his honour, that he would never again give credence to any reports to his disadvantage. On the Prince urging for the punishment of his calumniators, Henry considerably replied, that he "must tarrie a parliament," as such offenders should be left to the judgment of their peers. The Prince was then dismissed "with great loue and signes of fatherlie affection."\*

\* Holinshed's "Chronicle," ib. Sharon Turner, in his "History of England" (vol. ii. p. 282, 4to), alluding to the above interview between Henry the IVth and his son, says, "It is difficult to credit the strange scene usually annexed to this event, because there seems no reason for the prince's *uncouth dress*, nor in his presenting his father with a dagger to kill him, which he was sure his parent would not do; and still less, in coming for such a purpose with a large company of noblemen, or for chusing the time of his father's sickness to agitate him with such a conference." Yet, as the description of the Prince's apparel and other circumstances of his visit to the Palace, are derived from Elmham's translation of Titus Livius, the historian of Henry the Vth, (the MS. already referred to in the British Museum,) who in this instance had his information from the Earl of Ormond, one of the persons present at the interview, the account seems sufficiently authenticated. That the Prince had a meaning in the choice of his peculiar habit, as well as in respect to the ornament on his



Shakspeare has given celebrity to another memorable interview between King Henry and the Prince of Wales,\* which occurred in this Palace but a short time before the death of the King. The latter had been long subject to epileptic fits, and these, conjoined with a leprous affection, were the apparent cause of his death. One day, whilst he was lying in a lethargic fit, the Prince entered his chamber, and supposing him to be dead, he took away the royal diadem, which had been "set on a pillowe at the beddes heade."† On recovering his senses, the King enquired for his crown, and being informed that the Prince had taken it, he ordered him to be recalled to his presence, and then demanded why he had committed an act so ungracious. "Sire," said the Prince, "to mine and all men's judgments you seemed dead in this world; wherefore I, as your next and apparent

arm, there can hardly be a question. The gown, with needles hanging at the oilet holes, whimsical as it may seem, was an academic garb, worn, however, probably,) but on extraordinary occasions, by the scholars of Queen's college, Oxford, (where Prince Henry had studied) in honour of their founder, Robert *Eglesfield*, Chaplain to Queen Philippa: the gown forming a sort of pun, or rebus, on his name *Aiguilles*, (in French, Needles,) in a *field*, typified by the cloth covered with oilet-holes. It might be intended to denote that he wished to be esteemed as dutiful a son as when under academical tuition. The dog's collar on his arm was also, apparently, intended as a token of fidelity and devotion to his father's service. The whole was entirely accordant with the taste of the age, when the nobles and princes distributed emblematic badges to their dependents; and when their festal tables were adorned with "soteltés" and mot-toed ornaments.

\* Vide his play of "King Henry IV. Part ii. act iv. scene iv. The poet, in his dramatic dialogue, seems to have blended the main circumstances of both interviews.

† Hall's "Chronicle," p. 45, edit. 1809. Monstrelet says, "the crown was placed on a cushion by the bedside;" his account of the conversation between the Prince and his father varies also in some particulars from that given by Hall. See his "Chronicles," vol. iii. p. 138, 8vo, Johnes's translation.

heir, took the crown as mine own, and not as yours.”—“Well, fair son,” said the King, with a deep sigh, “what right I had to it, and how I enjoyed it, God knoweth.”—“My liege,” returned the Prince, “if you die King, I will have the garland, and trust to keep it by the sword, as you have done, against all mine enemies.” The King faintly replied, “Well, do as you think best; I leave all things to God, and pray him to have mercy on me.”

Henry was seized with his last fit when worshipping at the shrine of St. Edward in the Abbey Church, on the 20th of March, 1413. Whilst he was still senseless, he was carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, in the Abbot’s House. On recovering his speech he sent for the Prince of Wales, and, after giving him some excellent advice in respect to his future government, he recommended himself to his Creator, and expired. His remains were interred in the Cathedral at Canterbury.

*List of Parliaments held at Westminster in the reign of  
Henry the Fourth.*

October 6, . . . 1399

This was the same Parliament which had been summoned by writs tested the 29th of August, in the name of Richard II., to meet on Michaelmas day; but,

on the day after its assembling, writs were issued in the name of Henry, appointing it to meet on the 6th of October.

January 20, . . . 1401\*

This Parliament had been

\* In the “First Report of the Lords Commissioners on the Dignity of a Peer,” (p. 358, Div. xii.) it is observed that the “First entry on the Rolls of the Parliament of the 2d of Henry IVth speaks only of the Commons.” “It purports,” says the Committee, “that on Thursday, in the octaves of St. Hilary, the day on which the Parliament had been summoned to meet, the Knights of

summoned to meet at York, on the Wednesday before All Saints' day 1400; but it was pro- rogued to Westminster, by writ tested October the 3d, 2d Henry IV.	ventry on the 3d of December 1403, and was afterwards pro- rogued to Westminster.
Monday before the Feast of the Purification, (Febru- ary 2,) . . . . 1402	March 1, . . . . 1406
September 30, . . . 1402	This Parliament had been originally summoned to meet at Coventry, and was thence adjourned to Gloucester, and, lastly, to Westminster,
This Parliament had been summoned for Septem- ber 15, but was pro- rogued, by writ, to the 30th of that month.	January 27, . . . . 1410
January 14, . . . . 1404	By the original summons this Parliament had been directed to meet at Bristol.
This Parliament was sum- moned to meet at Co-	November 3, . . . . 1411
	February 3, . . . . 1413

Counties, Citizens of Cities, and Burgesses of Boroughs, were proclaimed by their names in the King's Chancery in Westminster Hall, in the presence of the Chancellor and Steward of the King's Household; and on their appearance, the Parliament was adjourned to the Friday following, when it was regularly opened in the King's presence. In the Speech of the Chief Justice, by the King's Command, on opening the Parliament, the Commons were ordered to proceed to election of their common Speaker, and to present him, *come le manere est*, on the next day; which was done; and the whole of the Proceedings in this Parliament bear a nearer resemblance than those of former Parliaments to the proceedings at the present time. The general Form of the Constitution of the Legislative Assemblies of the Kingdom may, therefore, be considered as having then become nearly settled; the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, being clearly acknowledged as a separate Body, having distinct Powers and Jurisdictions; and the Commons being also acknowledged as a separate Body, having their distinct Powers and Privileges; though all forming, with the King, one Legislative Assembly."—The whole of this 12th Division of the "Report," which includes the period of time from the commencement of the reign of Henry the Fourth until the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, is well deserving the attentive perusal of professional enquirers.



Henry the Fifth was crowned at Westminster, with the usual solemnities, on the 9th of April (Passion Sunday), 1413; which, according to Holinshed, "was a sore ruggie and tempestuous day, with wind, snow, and sleet, that men greatlie maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations what the same might signifie." The contemporary historian, Thomas of Elmham, has given a florid description of circumstances attending this festival, including the creation of knights, the procession to Westminster, and the banquet at the palace.\*

On the return of the King from France, after the famous battle of Agincourt, which had been fought and won on the 25th of October, 1415, his whole journey from Dover to Eltham (where he "rested hym a season"), and thence to Westminster, was a triumphal procession. "I might declare vnto you," says Hall, the Chronicler, "if I would bee tedious and prolix, how the Mayre of London and the Senate apparelled in oriēt grayned scarlet, how iij. c. comoners clad in beautiful murrey, wel mounted and gorgeously horsed, with riche collers and greate chaynes, met the kyng at Blackhethe, reioysyng at his victorious returne. How the clergie of London with riche crosses, sūpteous copes, and massy cēsers, received hym at S. Thomas of Wateryng, with solēpne procession, laudyng and praisyng God for the high honor and victory to hym geuen and graunted: but all these thynges I omit."†

\* Vide "Vita et Gesta Hen. V." edit. Tho. Hearne, cap. xii.—The same writer, in his translation of the History of Henry V., by Titus Livius, informs us that, by the assent of the Parliament, three days after the death of his father, and previously to his own coronation, "all the estates and gentlemen of the Realme offered to doe fealtie to him; wch" says the historian, "was never after, nor before now, found to be made (offered) to any Prince of England before his coronation." See MS. Harl. No. 35, fol. 10 b.

† "Chronicle," p. 29, edit. 1809. The helmet, or rather casque, which the

In the following year, the English court was honoured with a visit from the German Emperor Sigismund, on whose arrival, the King, with a great train of knights and nobles, proceeded to Blackheath, on the 7th of May, 1416, to meet the illustrious guest; and conducted him through London to Westminster, (where "he lodgyd him in his owne palays,") with great triumph; on which occasion jousts, tournaments, and other martial exercises were celebrated. Albert, Duke of Holland, also at this time visited the King; and both those princes were created Knights of the Garter. The object of the Emperor's journey to this country was the termination of the war with France; but his endeavours to effect an accommodation were unsuccessful. The King then determined to undertake a new expedition to the Continent, previously to which, in a Parliament at Westminster, John, Duke of Bedford, was appointed Regent or Governor of the Realm of England, during the King's absence, in consequence of his carrying on war against the French nation.

A slight insight is afforded us of the customs of the royal household at this time, by a statement given in the "*Fœdera*," (tom. iv. part ii. p. 155), from a Wardrobe Account of the 4th year of Henry the Vth, relative to the supply of scarlet and other coloured cloths, ermine, minever, and various other articles to compose winter and summer dresses for *William*, the *King's Fool*, and his servant. The dresses included tabard coats ("*Goun Tabard pro se et Servienti suo*") and divers other garments, as a capuchin, slippers, a doublet, a robe, and other articles.\*

King wore in the conflict, and which is said to have twice saved his life, when struck by the battle-axe, is yet preserved in Henry's monumental chapel in Westminster Abbey.

\* Precepts, tested by the King at Westminster, on December the 6th, 1416,

On his return from France in 1421, King Henry and his newly-married Queen, Katherine, the daughter of Charles the VI., landed at Dover, on the morrow after Candlemas-day, February the 3rd, and going to Eltham, proceeded thence through London to Westminster. "Meruel it is to write," says Hall, "but more meruel it was to se, with what ioy, what triumphe, what solace, and what reioysing he was receiued of all his subiectes, but in especiall of the Lōdoners, which for tediousnesse I ouer passe."

The coronation of the Queen was solemnized in the Abbey Church, at Westminster, on the 24th of February, on which occasion "she was conueghed on fote betwene ii bishops vnder a riche canapie from the greate halle to S. Peters Church, and there she was anointed & crowned with al y<sup>e</sup> ceremonies to so great an estate aperteinyng or requisite. After which solempnitie ended, she was again with great pōpe [pomp] conueghed into Westminster hall & ther set in y<sup>e</sup> throne at the *table of marble* at the vpper end of the hall."\* Fabyan has given a particular description of the consequent banquet. At the right hand of the Queen, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester afterwards Cardinal, and on the left, the King of Scots, "in his as-tate, y<sup>e</sup> whiche was seruyd with coueryd messe lyke vnto the forenamed bysshops, but after theym." Near him sat the

were directed to the Sheriffs, ordering all persons who held any *crown jewels* in pledge, to make their appearance before the Barons of the Exchequer, at Westminster, as soon as possible, with the jewels, and their accounts, that they might be paid, and the pledges be restored. See "Fœdera," tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 186. In the same volume, p. 181, is a Writ of Privy Seal, also tested by the King, at Westminster, on the 6th of the preceeding month, acknowledging the re-delivery of a gold enamelled collar, called "pusan," (elsewhere "pysane") which had been pledged to the Mayor and Corporation of London.

\* Hall's "Chronicle," p. 105 : edit. 1809.



Duchess of York and Countess of Huntingdon; the Earl of March, holding a sceptre, knelt on the right side of her Majesty, and the Earl Marshal on the left. The Countess sat under the table, at the right foot; and the Countess Marshal at the left. The Duke of Gloucester, who "was that daye ouer-loker," (says Fabyan,) stood bare-headed before the Queen. The duties of other officers were performed by various noblemen, either in their own right, or as the deputies of those to whom they belonged. The Earl of Worcester, in place of the Earl Marshal, rode about the Hall on a great courser, and with the aid of a multitude with typped stauys," kept order. The Barons of the Cinque Ports, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Bishops, and a great number of the nobility of both sexes were present on this festive occasion.\*

\* Fabyan's "Chronicles," p. 586: edit. 1811. Queen Katherine's coronation feast presented this peculiarity, that it was all of *Fish*; doubtless, on account of it being then the season of Lent. The different courses and dishes are minutely specified by the Chronicler, who states that the first course exhibited "a sotyltie called a pellycan syttyng on his nest with her byrdes, and an image of seynt Katheryne holdyng a booke, and disputyng with the doctours, holdyng a reason in her right hâde, sayinge, "madame le royne," & the pellican as an answer, (*Ce est la signe, Et du roy, pur tenir ioy, Et a tout sa gent, Elle mete sa entent.*)—Among the dishes of the second course are mentioned "Breme of the see, Leche damask w<sup>t</sup> the kynges worde or prouerbe flourysshed, *une sanz plus*," and "Flampeyn flourysshed with a scochchon royall, therein three crownes of golde plantyd with floure delyce and floures of camemyll wrought of confeccyons, and a sotyltie named a panter, w<sup>t</sup> an image of seynt Katheryn, with a whele in her hande, and a rolle with a reason in that other hande, sayinge, (*La royne ma file, In ceste ile, par bonne reson, aues renoun.*)

The third course, besides carp, turbot, trench, and perch, included, "Porpies rostyde," and "Menuys fryed;" which must have formed a striking contrast, if the former signifies Porpoise, and the latter Minnows. There was also "A march payne garnysshed with diuerss fygures of aungellys, amonge the whiche was set an image of seynt Katheryne holdyng this reson, (*Il est escrit,*

Notwithstanding the ratification of the Treaty of Troyes, so glorious to England, and the recent union between King Henry and the daughter of the French monarch, the Dauphin of France and his adherents still continued the war, and with so much success, that Henry found it necessary to proceed to the scene of contest, with a large reinforcement, in the summer of 1421. In his military operations he again triumphed; but a secret malady, which had been long undermining his constitution, at length subjected him to the bondage of the still-greater conqueror, Death.\* He expired at the Bois de Vincennes, near Paris, on the 31st of August, 1422. His obsequies were celebrated with extreme magnificence in the Cathedrals of Paris and Rouen; and again in England, at St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey; at which latter place his remains were finally deposited, near the Shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, in the royal chapel,—where a singular, but very elegant monumental chapel was subsequently erected over his tomb.†

*pur voir et dit, per marriage pur cest guerre ne dure.)* And lastly a sotyltie named a tigre la'kyng in a mirrour, and a ma' syttyne on horse backe, clene armyd, holding i' his armys a tiger whelpe, w<sup>t</sup> this reason, (*Par force sanz reson ie ay pryse ceste beste,*) and with his one hande makynge a countenaunce of throwynge of mirrours at the great tigre; the whiche held this reason, (*Gile the mirrour ma fene distour."*)

\* His primary disorder appears to have been a pleurisy; which in consequence of fatigue, arising from forced marches, terminated in a violent fever and flux.

† Several documents concerning the funeral and tomb of Henry the Fifth, have been printed in the "Fœdera." Among other circumstances they acquaint us with the name of John Arderne, "Clerico Operationum Regis." Vide tom. iv. pars iv. p. 81 b. On the 6th of February, 1427, £200 was ordered to be paid, under a writ of Privy Seal, to the said Arderne, for expenses incurred by him in repairs at the Tower of London and Palace at Westminster. Vide Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra, F. iv. f. 29.

*Parliaments held at Westminster in the reign of Henry V.*

May 15, . . . . .	1413	tested by John, Duke of
Monday after the octave of		Bedford, Guardian of the
of St. Martin, . . .	1414	Realm during the king's
Monday after All Saints		absence in France.
Day, . . . . .	1415	March 16, . . . . .
This Parliament was		October 19, . . . . .
summoned for Monday		November 16, . . . . .
after the feast of St		December 2, . . . . .
Luke, but was after-		May 2, . . . . .
wards prorogued by writ,		December 1, . . . . .

Almost immediately after advices had been received of the decease of the late king, a Council of Spiritual and Temporal peers assembled at Westminster to devise the measures necessary to secure the throne to his only son Henry, who was an infant scarcely nine months old. On the 28th of September, the Great Seal was delivered into the hands of the young king at Windsor (his birth place) by Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, the then Chancellor, and was transferred through the hands of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, to Simon Gaunstede, keeper of the rolls; who, on the day following, sealed with it divers letters patent, &c. in the Star Chamber at Westminster.\* Writs, also, for the assembling of a Parliament at Westminster on the 11th of November, were issued on the same day, and on the 20th of that month,—“*in pleno Parlamento*,” the Seal was re-delivered to the same Duke, and by him given to Nicholas Dixon, treasurer, now made chancellor.

\* See “*Fœdera*,” tom iv. pars iv. p. 80. In the Lords 1st “Report on the Dignity of a Peer,” p. 368, it is stated erroneously, that the Seal was “taken back by the Bishop of Durham,” from the infant king.



Early in 1424, a Petition was addressed by the Countess of Westmorland to the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, and the Lords of the Council, praying them to issue a mandate to Robert Rolleston, Clerk of the King's Wardrobe, ordering him to deliver up to the Countess a *Book*, containing the "*Chronicles of Jerusalem*," and the "*Voyage of Godfrey de Bologne*," which was then in his custody, and which she had previously lent to the late king, Henry the Fifth. From a memorandum on the back of the petition, it appears, that at a Council held at Westminster on the 1st of February, in the same year, a warrant under the privy seal, was addressed to the keeper of the wardrobe, for the formal delivery of the book in question. A similar application was also made by the prior of Christ-church, Canterbury, for a large book, containing the "*Works of St. Gregory the Pope*," which had been bequeathed to the Convent by Archbishop Thomas Arundel, and which having been intrusted to the late king for his inspection, had got into the hands of the prior of the Carthusians at Shene. In consequence of this petition, the Lords of the Council granted a warrant commanding the Prior of Shene to deliver up the book, as prayed.\*

\* "*Fœdera*," tom iv. pars iv. p. 105. Notwithstanding it may appear from the above that Henry the Vth was partial to literature, there is not a single book mentioned in the long and interesting list of his personal and private property, which is given in the fourth volume of the 'Rolls of Parliament,' and occupies nearly twenty-eight folio pages; viz. from p. 214 to 241. The appreciated value of the property was £18,404, 4s. 10d. It must be noticed, however, that in May, 1425, (3rd of Henry VI.) John Burnham, the librarian of the late King, obtained an Order of Council for placing on record the acknowledgment of the Lord Treasurer, and the Lords Cromwell and Scrope, of his having delivered all the *Books* which were in his custody, into the hands of John Depeden, by the King's command. Vide "*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*," (edited by Sir Harris Nicolas) vol. iii. p. 168.

In a Parliament held at Westminster, about Easter 1425, the young King was personally introduced. He is said to have been brought through the City, riding on a noble charger, "with great triumph;" and it is added "the child was iudged of all men, not only to haue the very ymage, y<sup>e</sup> liuely portrature, and louely countenance of his noble parent and famous father, but also like to succeed, and be his heire in all morall vertues, marcial policies, and princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to his realmes, seigniories & dominions."\* The fallibility of popular judgment is abundantly exemplified in the sequel of the reign of this unfortunate prince, who, though he was the cause of great public calamities, was, it must be acknowledged, more 'sinned against than sinning.'

The following items are derived from an account, dated at Westminster, and printed in the "Fœdera," of moneys due to John Merston, keeper of the royal jewels, for payments made by the King's order, and by the advice of the Lord de Tiptoft, Seneschal of the Household, and the Lady Alice Boutiller [Butler] the King's governess, from Christmas 1428, to the 4th of February, in the following year.

- 'Item, Given, by order of the King, to the heralds, for largess, at the feast of Christmas, . . . . . 100s.
- 'Also, to the Minstrels, for their reward,—"*pur leur Regard*," . . . . . 66s. 8d.
- 'To Jack Travel and his Companions, for performing divers plays and interludes during the festival of Christmas, before our Lord the King, . . . . . 4l.
- 'To others, Jews of Abingdon, performing interludes at the said festival, . . . . . 20s.

\* Hall's "Chronicle," p. 127. edit. 1809.

- ‘Item, Paid for the King’s offering, on St. Edward’s day, . . . . . 6s. 8d.
- ‘Item, Given to two men of Waltham Abbey, who brought two horses to convey the females of the King’s family from Eltham to Hertford, in a chaise,—“*une Chaise*,” 6s. 8d.
- ‘To Robert Atkynsone, for carrying the King’s portable *organs*, on foot, at different times, from Windsor to Eltham, and from Eltham to Hertford, . . . . . 6s. 8d.
- ‘Item, Paid for the King’s offering to our Lady, on Candlemas day, . . . . . 33s. 4d.
- ‘For chanting a requiem for the Duke of Lancaster, the 4th of February, . . . . . 6s. 8d.\*

On the sixth of November 1429, the young King “beynge vpon the age of ix years,” was crowned in the Abbey Church, at Westminster, by Archbishop Chicheley; “at which coronation,” says Hall, “to reherse the costly faire, the delicate meate, the plesaunte wines, the nombre of courses, the sortes of dishes, the labors of officers, the multitude of people, the estates of Lordes, the beauties of Ladies, the riches of apparell, the curious devices, the solempne banquets, it would aske a long time, and weary you.”† Thirty-six gentlemen were made Knights of the Bath to grace the ceremony; and all the prelates went in the procession “berynge eche of them a relyck of dyuerse sayntes.”‡ About

\* “*Fœdera*,” tom. iv. pars iv. p. 132-133.—It appears from the “Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council,” (vol. iii. p. 143.) that on the 21st of February, 1424, the above-named Lady Butler had license in the King’s name from the Council, ‘to reasonably chastise the King’ who had recently entered ‘into the 3rd year of his age,’ from time to time, as the case might require, without her being afterwards molested or injured on account of such correction.

† “*Chronicles*,” p. 153.—Fabyan has given a list of the dishes which composed the coronation feast: they were diversified by divers *sotyllties*.

‡ Taylor’s “*Glory of Regality*,” p. 262; in which work are extracts relating to this coronation, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. The *Ampulla Bene-*



two years afterwards, (on December the 7th, 1431), Henry was crowned King of France, by his uncle Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, in the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris.

It appears from the Patent Rolls, that in the 16th of Henry the VIth (1438) John Golding was made chief carpenter, and disposer and surveyor of the King's works in the Palace of Westminster, and at the Tower of London, with a yearly fee of £20;—and that in his 23rd year, John Whattley was appointed to the same offices.

The proceedings against the Duchess of Gloucester (Eleanor Cobham) in 1441, on the charge of having practised necromantic rites, in conjunction with other persons, in order to procure the death of the King, took place in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, where she was examined before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and other prelates. Being convicted, she was sentenced to a severe public penance, and banishment for life to the Isle of Man; but was afterwards imprisoned in the castles at Chester and Kenilworth. One of the alleged accomplices of the Duchess was Thomas Southwell, a priest, and canon of St. Stephen's, who died in the Tower, on the night before his proposed arraignment. Roger Bolynbroke, "a priest and great astronomer," and Margery Jourdain, or Gardemaine, whom Stow calls "a witch of Eye, besides Westminster," were also implicated with the Duchess in the charge of necromancy, and suffered death:—the former being hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and the latter burnt in Smithfield. These proceedings are thought to have been fomented by the base arts of Cardinal Beaufort, in order the more effectually

*dicta*, mentioned in a former page, was also used on this occasion, as appears from a warrant for the delivery of the same to John Merston, Keeper of the King's Jewels, directed to the Treasurer and Chamberlain of the Exchequer. Vide "*Fœdera*" tom. iv. pars iv. p. 151.

to destroy the influence of the Duke of Gloucester, who was strongly inimical to ecclesiastical injustice.

In the spring of 1444, an inglorious truce was concluded with France, for two years; after which, a treaty of marriage was negotiated by William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, between the English Sovereign and Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of René (titular king of Sicily and Jerusalem), and niece to the French Queen. The nuptials were first celebrated by proxy at Tours, in France, in the month of November, but the affianced bride did not arrive in England until the April following, when she was personally united to Henry, at Southwick, in Hampshire. The shows and pageants which were exhibited on her entry into the metropolis, were "marvellous costly and sumptuous," and she was "brought vnto Westmynster w<sup>h</sup> great tryumphe." On the 30th of May, she was crowned Queen, in the Abbey Church, "with all the solemnitie therto appertaining;" and, on this occasion there were "continual *justes*" for three days, within the Sanctuary at Westminster.\*

We learn from the "Proceedings of the Privy Council," that in the January preceding the Queen's arrival, a Petition was presented to the King from his "poure chapelyn," William Clebe, Clerk of the Works, requesting that a good assignment of £1,000 might be made to him, for the new

\* The only issue of this marriage was the ill-fated Prince Edward, who was born in the Palace at Westminster on the 13th of October, 1453. "His mother," says Holinshed, "sustained not a little slander and obloquie of the common people," who had such an opinion of the King, that they "sticked not to saie, that this was not his sonne, with manie slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the Queen's dishonour: *much part perchance vnturilie*." This prince, who seems to have displayed more of the lofty spirit of his mother, than of the patient forbearance that marked his father's character, was slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471.

works which the Council had directed to be made at Eltham and Shene (the particulars of which are specified), and “at Westm̃. [viz.] the Grete Chamboure for your graciouse persone and the Quenes logging, with the Parlement Chambre and Peynted Chambre, with reformation of your Condwys there, and ordinance for the scaffold to be made in Westm̃. Chirche for the estate of the Coronation.” As a cause for this request, (which appears to have been granted,) the Petitioner states, that he had lately made at the Tower a kitchen, with all its necessary offices, and a new drawbridge—“draght brygge”—and “as yit receyved never in money xld.”

In February 1447, the direful tragedy which had been commenced by the imprisonment of the Duchess Eleanor, and the deaths of her associates, was consummated by the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, who was arrested by the partizans of the Queen and her faction, whilst attending a Parliament at St. Edmund’s-bury, and was found “dead in his bed,” about a fortnight afterwards, although he had been seen safe and well on the preceding evening.\* His death, however,

\* Hall says, that “all indifferent persons well knew that he died of no natural death, but of some violent force; some judging him to have been strangled.” &c, “and others, that he was stifled between two feather beds.” See “Chronicle,” p. 209, edit. 1809.

In the “*Fœdera*” is printed a grant from Henry the VIth, tested at Westminster, July the 25th, 1447, to Robert Bolley, Serjeant of the Ewery, and Alexander Donour, Valet of the Ewery, of the Barbers’ Shops, “*Shopas Barbitonsorum*,” at the gates of the King’s house, to hold and occupy them, from July the 5th, 23rd Hen. VIth, during the lives of the grantees, or of the survivor of them; with all the profits and advantages thereto pertaining: and also Fees from the Knights of the Bath, at their creation,—namely, from each Knight 24 ells of linen cloth, which shall be about the bath; with one carpet [tapet] 3 yards in length, of red worsted; and 20s. for shaving each knight thus created:—from each Baron, or his [equal] peer 40s. as his fee for shaving; from each



produced eventually far different events than what its contrivers had foreseen; for it proved the ruin of the House of Lancaster, and prepared the way for the House of York to ascend the throne.

It appears from the Patent Rolls of the same year, (25th Henry VI.) that Suffolk, who was now a Marquis, was constrained 'to defend himself, before the nobles and magnates of the realm,' in the *King's Chamber*, at Westminster, for ceding the provinces of Anjou and Maine, "the keys of Normandy," to the French crown, when negotiating the union of Margaret of Anjou with his own sovereign.\* On that occasion, Suffolk was exonerated from all blame; but he was not so fortunate when other proceedings were instituted against him in the Parliament which sat at Westminster in 1450. In the early part of that year, among other delinquencies, he was accused of misprison of treason, and committed to the Tower of London, but afterwards, on the 9th of March, "that he myght be the more redyer and nere to come to his answer, the Kyng commytted hym to ward in a *Toure* within the Paleys at Westm."† As the Commons refused to grant any supplies, until justice had been obtained against Suffolk, it became the policy of the Court to satisfy them without endangering the life of the accused minister,—who, protesting his innocence in the strongest terms, waived his right of peerage, and submitted himself wholly to the King's "rule and governaunce." This policy, however, availed but

Earl, or his peer, 100s. as his fee; and from each Duke, or his peer, 10*l.* as his fee.—Tom. v. pars i. p. 180; from Patent Rolls, 25 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 5.

\* See "Cal. Rot. Patent." p. 290. The King delivered a protest in favour of Suffolk, and a proclamation was afterwards issued, declaring him to have acted the part of a true and faithful servant, and imposing silence on his accusers, on pain of the loss of their offices and of the royal indignation. "Fœdera," tom. v. pars i. p. 177.

† See "Rot. Parl." vol. v. p. 182.

little, for on the 17th of March, the King commanded all his Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal "thene beyng in Towne," to attend him "into his *Inneth Chambre*, with a Gavill wyndowe over a Cloyster, within his Paleys of Westm' ;" and then sending for Suffolk, sentenced him to banishment from his dominions for the next five years from the first of May.\*

The notorious imbecility of the King, and the mal-administration of the Queen and her favourites, were powerful agents in fomenting the ambitious designs of the Duke of York (Richard Plantagenet), who, by the maternal line, was sprung from Lionel, the third son of Edward the Third; and paternally, from Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of that monarch. The insurrection of Jack Cade, in the summer of 1450, under the assumed name of Mortimer, and during which the Court were obliged to quit Westminster and retire to Kenilworth, had already been the means of ascertaining that the Yorkists stood high in public estimation. At length the contending barons had recourse to the sword, and in May 1455, the first battle between the partizans of the rival Houses was fought at St. Alban's, where, after a dreadful slaughter of the King's friends, the royal army was entirely routed, and Henry himself (who had been long ill, and was then "in great disease and heaviness," ) † being

\* See "Rot. Parl." vol. v. p. 182. On proceeding to cross the channel at the end of April, the disgraced nobleman was intercepted by his enemies, and after a mock trial, his head was severed from his body by a rusty sword.

† In the "*Fœdera*" are several grants to medical practitioners employed about the King; and other papers, some of which appear to bear reference to the malady with which this unfortunate prince was repeatedly afflicted during his long reign. John Faceby, the King's Physician, petitioned his highness that he might have a grant under the Privy Seal, ordering the keeper of the wardrobe to deliver to him, as a Christmas gift, 5 ells of "*Drap de Greine*," and other arti-

made prisoner by the Duke of York, and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, was carried to London.

cles of dress, such as were bestowed on the royal chaplains. This petition is dated on the last day of February, 1444; and as it was followed by another on the 17th of March, it is probable that the first did not meet with immediate attention. Shortly after, Master John Faceby obtained a rent-charge for life, of £100 a-year, from the customs of the port of London; and in August 1458, the King by a deed, dated at Westminster, granted him the reversion of an annuity of 50 marks.

In 1454 was issued a writ of Privy Seal, in the name of the King, directed to John Arundell, John Faceby, and William Hatclyf, Physicians, and Robert Wareyn and John Marchall, Surgeons, stating that they had been appointed with the advice and consent of the Council, to attend on the King; and giving them absolute authority as to the regulation of his diet and regimen, and as to the administration of all sorts of medicaments, internal or external; and requiring all and singular the King's lieges to obey and assist his medical attendants, in their proceedings for the restoration of the King's health. The King was probably labouring under one of his fits of mental alienation at the date of this document, viz. April 6, 1454; and it may be considered as a warrant, authorizing the medical men to adopt such measures as they might deem requisite, independent of the consent of the royal patient.

William Hatclyf, one of the physicians mentioned in the preceding writ, received for his services a grant of the custody of the King's lake or pond—“*custodiam Stagni nostri, sive Aquæ de Fosse*,”—with all the profits arising from it, during pleasure; together with 6*d.* a day, from the fee farm of the county of York, in addition to an annual pension from the Treasury of £40 a-year, which he had previously enjoyed.

The continued illness or relapse of King Henry seems to have given occasion for calling in a fresh practitioner, in June, 1455. On the 5th of that month, a letter in the King's name, under the Privy Seal, was addressed to “Maistre Gilbert Kemer, Dean of Salisbury,” in the following terms: “For as moche as we be occupied and laboured, as ye knowe wel, with Sickness and Infirmities, of the whiche to be delivered and cured, by the grace of our Lord, as needeth the Helpe, Entendance, and Laboure of suche expert, notable, and proved Men in the Crafte of Medicines as ye be, in whom among alle other, oure affection and desire right especially is sette. We desire, wille, and hertily pray you that ye be with us at our Castell of Wyndesore, the twelfth day of this Moneth, and entende upon oure Persone, for the cause abovesaid, and that ye faille not, as oure



In the ensuing Parliament, which assembled at Westminster on the 9th of July, divers important changes were effected in the executive departments of the State. The late Duke of Gloucester was now declared a *true Prince*, both to the King and to the realm; the Duke of York was made Protector of the kingdom; the Earl of Salisbury Chancellor; and the Earl of Warwick (afterwards known in our annals by the appellation of 'the King-maker') Captain of Calais, with the virtual command of the army and navy.\* On the 13th of November following, a Great Council was assembled at Westminster, in which Ordinances and Appointments were established for the King's Household. The avowed inten-

singular Trust is in you, and as ye desire and tender of oure Helthe and Welfare."

In 1456, a license, under the authority of Parliament, was granted to the John Faceby already mentioned, in conjunction with John Kirkeby and John Rayny, "in Scientiis Naturalibus eruditissimi," to prepare a *wonder-working* medicine, which besides other high-sounding appellations had those of the *Philosophers' Stone*, and the *Elixir of Life*. This preparation, it is alleged, would not only cure all curable diseases, prolong life beyond its natural term in the fullest enjoyment of all corporeal and mental faculties, and display other sanative virtues, but also prove useful to the commonwealth by effecting the transformation of base metals into silver and gold. The permission of the government was required in this and other cases, to authorize the labours of the adepts, because there was a statute in force (passed in the reign of Henry the IVth) condemning the *multipliers* of the *precious metals*. As one of the persons who obtained this licence was a royal physician, it may be supposed that the preparation of the elixir was undertaken for the restoration of the King's health;—but the project of transmuting metals had already been entertained in this reign, as early as the year 1444, when, on July the 6th, a Patent Charter by Henry, at Westminster, was granted to one John Cobbe, stating that he asserted a knowledge of philosophical processes for turning the imperfect metals into gold and silver, and declaring that it should be lawful for him to exercise his art, without molestation.

\* Vide "Fœdera," tom. v. pars ii. pp. 54-55; and "Rot. Parl." vol. v. p. 284, &c.

tion of the Councillors was to reduce the superfluous number of the attendants and domestics at Court, and lessen the expenditure as needless and extravagant; but, doubtless, they had in view the further object of displacing from their offices about the King, such of his servants as were inimical to the designs of the Duke of York. Hall, in reference to the proceedings of the Parliament, says, "Firste, they amoued from the priue counsaill all suche persones as the kyng loued, or the quene fauored, puttyng in their places men of their secte and confederacie, & changyng officers throughout the realme at their will and disposicion."\*

In the year 1458, a temporary reconciliation was effected between the opposing factions of King Henry and the Duke of York, which was ratified by an ordinance under the Great Seal, dated at Westminster on the 24th of March. The prospect of a continuing concord among the great men of the kingdom, which this public treaty seemed to afford, was the cause of much joy among the people; and the inhabitants of the metropolis witnessed with pleasure a procession to the Cathedral church of St. Paul, in which the rival princes and nobles, in token of renewed amity, walked in pairs, each one proceeding arm in arm with a chief of the hostile party, "and, behind the King, the Duke of Yorke and the Queene, with great familiaritie in appeerance leading hand in hand."† This fair prospect, however, was soon clouded, and those who had so recently been reconciled, again assumed the cha-

\* "Chronicle," p. 233. A list of the persons composing the royal household, after this reform, is contained in a manuscript in the Cottonian Library, from which it has been published by the Society of Antiquaries, in 1790, under the title of "Ordinances of the Household of Henry VI. in the 33rd year of his Reign."

† Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. iii. p. 249. Vide etiam Pol. Virgil. "Angl. Hist." p. 506.

racter of inveterate and avowed enemies. The immediate cause of the revival of hostilities, was an insidious attack on the retainers of the Earl of Warwick by the king's, or rather, the queen's servants, while that nobleman was in attendance at a Council held at Westminster. Not long after the reconciliation, says Holinshed, "of pretended purpose, (as it was thought,)\* a fraie was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Warwicks, by one of the kings seruants, in the which the assailant was sore hurt, but the earles man fled. Hearevpon the kings menial seruants, seeing their fellow hurt and the offendor escaped, assembled together and watched the earle, when he returned from the councell chamber toward his barge, and suddenly set on him, the yeomen with swords, the blacke gard with spits and fierforks. After long fight, and manie of the earls men maimed and hurt, by helpe of his freends he gat a wherrie, and so escaped to London. The queene advertised hereof, incontientlie commanded that he should be apprehended and committed to the Tower, where (if he had beene taken) he had shortlie ended his daies." †

After the defeat of the Queen's army, near Northampton, in July 1460, by Edward, Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York, the King was again made a captive, and compelled to give the sanction of his authority to such measures as the victors proposed. Among these was the assembling of a Parliament at Westminster on the 10th of October, which afforded to the Duke of York an opportunity of challenging his rights to the crown, and his behaviour on that occasion was not a little remarkable. He had re-

\* Polyd. Virgil says, it is not certain whether the fray was commenced through accident or treacherous design. "*Subita turba, casu ne astu non satis constat, facta est.*" "*Angl. Hist.*" u. a.

† Holinshed's "*Chronicles*," vol. iii. p. 249, 250.



ceived information of the victory gained by his friends, while in Ireland, where he resided as Lord Deputy, and he immediately returned to England to avail himself of the advantageous position in which the sudden turn of affairs had placed him. He made his public entrance into London on the Friday before the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, with trumpets sounding, and having a naked sword borne before him, accompanied by a great train of men-at-arms, and a multitude of his adherents and retainers. "At his comming to Westminster he entred the Palace, and passing foorth directlie through the great Hall, staid not till he came to the chamber where the king and lords vsed to sit in the parliament time, comonlie called the vpper house, or chamber of the peeres, and being there entred, stept vp vnto the throne roiall, and there laieng his hand vpon the cloth of estate, seemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right (for he held his hand so vpon that cloth a good pretie while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preassing together, and marking what countenance they made. Whilest he thus stood and beheld the people, supposing they reioiced to see his presence, the Archbishop of Canterburie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due salutations, asked him if he would come and see the King. With which demand he seeming to take disdain, answered breiefelie, and in few words thus: 'I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it beseemeth him rather to come and see my person, than I to go and see his.' The archbishop hearing his answer, went back to the king, and declared what answer he had received of the duke's owne mouth. After the archbishop was departed to the king that laie in the queenes lodging, the duke also departed, and went to the most prin-

cipall lodging that the king had within all his palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein, more like to a king than a duke, continuing in the same lodging for a time, to the great indignation of manie that could not in aniewise like of such presumptuous attempts made by the duke to thrust himselfe in possession of the crowne, and to depose king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them so long a time.”\*

Whilst the Parliament still continued sitting, the claims of the Duke of York to the throne, which he now openly challenged in right of his descent from Edward the Third, became the subject of close investigation, and after several

\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. iii. pp. 261, 262.—According to Hall, the Duke of York now stated his right to the crown in a speech of considerable length. But Holinshed remarks, that Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, who may be supposed to have been present as a parliamentary mitred baron, and who wrote a history of those times, takes no notice of the delivery of any such oration, the authenticity of which therefore may be deemed somewhat questionable. It is probable that the substance of this declaration, (whether it was ever spoken in parliament or not,) was published as a manifesto on the part of Richard of York, to make known to the people the grounds of his pretensions to the throne.

Hall says, "When the duke had thus ended his oracion, the lordes sat still like Images grauen in the wall, or domme Gods, neither whisperyng nor spekyng, as though their mouths had been sowed vp. The duke perceiuing none aunswer to be made to his declared purpose, not well content with their so'ber silence and taciturnitie, aduised them well to digest and pondre the effect of his oracion and saiying; and so neither fully displeased nor all pleased, departed to his lodgyng in the Kynges palace;"—the Chronicler adds, "While he was thus declaryng hys title in the chambre of peres, there happened a straunge chaunce in the very same tyme, emongest the co'mons in the nether house, then there assembled: for a Crowne whiche did hang in the middell of the same, to garnishe a branche to sett lights vpon, without touche of any creture, or rigor of wynd, sodainly fell doune; and at the same tyme also fell doune the Crowne whiche stode on the top of the Castle of Douer; as a signe and prognostication, that the Crowne of the Realme should be diuided and changed from one line to another."—Hall's "Chronicle," p. 248.

debates, his title to the crown was admitted by the Lords; but, in order to reconcile the opposing interests of the rival Houses, a compromise was effected between their respective partizans,—by which it was agreed, that the king should retain the royal honours for the remainder of his life, and that the Duke (and his heirs) should succeed to the throne on his decease. This agreement was sanctioned by the Parliament, and Henry was constrained to give the royal assent to the bill, although his only son was disinherited by its provisions.\*

When these proceedings were communicated to Queen Margaret (who was then absent from the metropolis) she was highly incensed, and immediately began to raise an army in the north, for the purpose of annulling the award. Her first efforts were successful; and the Duke of York, by whom the Queen's forces had been imprudently attacked with far inferior numbers, was slain at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, on the 30th of December, and his head, encircled by a paper diadem, in derision of his claims, was placed, by the Queen's order, over one of the gates of York city. She then advanced towards London, and having defeated the Earl of Warwick near St. Alban's, released the King from thralldom: but the activity and gallant bearing of Edward Earl of March, (who had recently obtained a decisive victory over the royalists at Mortimer's Cross,) and his rapid advance to the capital, impelled her to retreat.

The Earl was received by the Londoners with every demonstration of joy, and on a review of his forces, in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, an appeal was made to the assembled multitude, as to whether "they would have him for their King." The people shouted "Yea, yea;"—and this ex-

\* See "Rot. Parl." vol. v. pp. 375-383.



pression of the popular feeling being admitted as legitimate at a great Council of prelates, nobility, and magistrates, held at Baynard's Castle on the ensuing day, it was resolved that 'King Henry, by joining the Queen's army, had violated his agreement, and forfeited the crown to the Earl of March, the heir of Richard late Duke of York.'—"On the morrowe," (March the 4th, 1461,) the Earl was conducted in great state to St. Paul's, and thence to Westminster Hall, "where, being set in the King's seate, with St. Edward's scepter in his hand," the rights of his family were publicly stated, and he was again saluted as King by the surrounding crowd. The Earl next proceeded to the Abbey Church, where he offered as King, at the altar of St. Edward in the royal chapel; and having received the homage of all the nobles there present, he was recognised as the lawful sovereign of the realm, and solemnly proclaimed as such in different parts of the city, on the following day. But he had still to contend for empire with the sword,—for Henry's Queen, and his nephew the Duke of Somerset (Henry Beaufort), had assembled an army of 60,000 men, under the Lancastrian banners, and held the northern counties in subjection. This vast force was utterly discomfited by the Earl of Warwick and the young King, at the battle of Towton, in Yorkshire, which was fought on the 29th of March (Palm Sunday), and nearly half its numbers perished on the field.\* Edward returned to London in June, and on the 29th of that month he was crowned "with grete triumphe and honor," in the Abbey Church at Westminster. Fabyan says,—“In the moneth of July followynge, at y<sup>e</sup> stādarde in Chepe, the hande of a seruante of the kynges, callyd John Dauy, was stryken off, for that he hadde stryken a man within the *palays* of Westmynster.”

\* In a confidential letter sent by Edward to his mother (Cicely duchess of York), he informs her that the heralds, employed to number the dead bodies,

*Parliaments held at Westminster in the reign of Henry VI.*

Monday before the Feast of St. Martin, (November 11) . . . . . 1422	transferred to Westminster.
October 20, . . . . . 1423	November 12, . . . . . 1439
April 30, . . . . . 1425	This Parliament was pro- rogued to Reading.
October 13, . . . . . 1427	January 25, . . . . . 1442
October 14, . . . . . 1428	February 25, . . . . . 1445
By writ tested at West- minster on the 3rd of August, this Parlia- ment had been first summoned for Septem- ber the 22nd.	February 12, . . . . . 1449
January 12, . . . . . 1431	November 6, . . . . . 1449
May 12, . . . . . 1432	This Parliament was ad- journd to the Black- friars, London, on ac- count of the Plague, and after re-assembling at Westminster on the 22nd of January 1450, it was eventually prorogued to Leicester.
July 8, . . . . . 1433	November 6, . . . . . 1450
October 10, . . . . . 1435	July 9, . . . . . 1455
January 21, . . . . . 1436	October 7, . . . . . 1460
This Parliament was ori- ginally summoned to meet at Canterbury, but by a new writ it was	

Edward the IVth deviated from the usual practice of his royal predecessors, in marrying one of his own subjects, the Lady Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, who had lost his life in fighting for the House of Lancaster. The marriage was solemnized in private; but the coronation of

returned the Lancastrians alone at twenty-eight thousand. See "Fenn's (Pas-  
ton) Letters," vol. i. p. 217.

the new queen was celebrated at Westminster, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions, May 26, 1465.\*

This marriage embroiled the king with some of his most distinguished friends and supporters, including the great Earl of Warwick, and his own brother the Duke of Clarence, who became jealous of the honours which were continually lavished on the relations of the Queen, and after various acts of insubordination, proceeded so far in their discontent as to place the King himself "*in straitte warde.*"† This was in the summer of 1469, but a temporary reconciliation with the offended nobles restored Edward to his liberty. In the following year, a yet stronger conspiracy was formed against him, and he was compelled to flee the kingdom, whilst his queen took sanctuary in the Abbey at Westminster.‡ King Henry was then released from the Tower, and restored for a few months to a nominal sovereignty. But Edward returned, collected an army, and by the decisive victories of Barnet and Tewkesbury,—in the former of which the Earl of Warwick was slain, and in the latter, Queen Margaret made prisoner, and her son killed,—secured undisputed possession of the throne. He re-entered London on the 21st of May

\* In the same year, Henry, the deposed sovereign, being made prisoner in Lancashire, was paraded through London on horseback, "with his legs bounde to the styrops," and confined in the Tower,

† See the attainder of the Duke of Clarence in "Rot. Parl." vol. vi. p. 191.

‡ There is a memorandum in the "Fœdera," of the delivery of the Great Seal to the King, by the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Robert Stillington) on the 6th of March, 1470, "*in quadam parva Capella juxta interiorem Cameram ipsius Dom. R. juxta le Windynge Steyre infra Palatium suum Westm.*" &c. Vide tom. v. pars ii. p. 173. In the same Collection (pars iii. p. 59) is a mandate tested by the King, at Westminster, on the 27th of February 1475, directing Thomas Vaughan, "*armigero pro corpore nostro,*" and others, to arrest Goldsmiths for the King's service.



1471;—and on the following day, the unfortunate King Henry perished in the Tower: but whether from grief, (as reported at the time,) or by the hand of violence, has not been authenticated.

About six weeks afterwards, (July the 3rd) the king created his eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, in the *Parliament Chamber* at Westminster, in presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, eight other prelates, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, (the King's brothers,) and many of the principal nobility and knights;—all of whom swore fealty to the Prince, as “the verey and undoubted heyre” to the King, “and to the Corones and Reames [realms] of England and of France, and Lordship of Ireland:” \*—an oath, alas! how fearfully violated.

On the 15th of January 1477, the Lady Anne Mowbray, daughter and heiress of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was married to Richard Duke of York, in St. Stephen's Chapel, in presence of the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, Cicely the King's mother, and the ladies Elizabeth, Mary, and Cicely, the King's daughters. The Chapel was richly hung with drapery on this occasion, and the royal company, after the performance of mass at the high altar, were splendidly banqueted in St. Edward's [or the Painted] Chamber.†

Holinshed informs us, that King Edward kept the festival of Christmas, with great state, in 1482, at Eltham, where there was a dailie attendance of more than two thousand persons. He adds—“The same yeare,” [i. e. O. S.] “on Candlesmas day, he with his queene went in procession from saint Stephans chappell into Westminster hall, accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & sir James Liddall, ambassadors from Scotland. And at his proceeding out of his

\* “*Fœdera*,” tom. v. pars. iii. p. 5. † Sandford's “*Genealogical Hist.*” p. 394.

chamber he made sir John Wood, vnder-treasuror of England, & sir William Catesbie one of the iustices of the cōmon plees, knights."

The death of this Sovereign took place at the Palace of Westminster, on the 9th of April 1483. His remains, when inclosed in a coffin, were brought into St. Stephen's Chapel, (where three masses were sung,) and there deposited during eight days; after which they were carried into the Abbey Church at Westminster, and thence conveyed to Windsor, where they were finally interred in the royal Chapel.

All the *Parliaments* summoned in the reign of Edward the IVth, were directed to assemble at Westminster, except one, ordained to be holden at York, on February the 5th, 1463, but which was ultimately ordered by proclamation, to sit at Westminster on the 29th of April following;—and another, which after being summoned to meet at York on September the 22nd 1469, was superseded by a writ dated on the 7th of that month. With the exception of the Parliament summoned to meet at Oxford by Charles the First, whilst the Long Parliament was sitting at Westminster; of two sessions which took place by prorogation, at Oxford, in June 1625, and in October 1665, on account of the direful ravages of the Plague in London in those years; and of another session at Oxford, in March 1681, our Parliaments, ever since the above reign, have always been held at Westminster.

The reign of Edward the Vth extended only from the time of his father's decease, to the 26th of June in the same year, when he was superseded by his uncle Richard, (Duke of Gloucester,) who by a series of hypocritical and murderous acts, and the basest intrigues, contrived to usurp the throne from its rightful possessor—chiefly on the plea of the bastardy of his brother's issue. Prior to this, however, orders had been issued for the coronation of his nephew; who, at different times, in the months of May and June, was resident

in this Palace, as appears from the several documents, tested by himself at Westminster, which have been printed in the "Fœdera."\*

On the day after that on which he had been proclaimed King, Richard the IIIrd proceeded in great state to Westminster Hall, with a numerous train of attendants, "and there, when he had placed himselfe in the Court of the King's Bench, [on "the marble seat," as some writers state] he declared to the audience, that he would take upon him the crowne in that place there, where the king himselfe sitteth and ministreth the law, because he considered that it was the chiefest dutie of a king to minister the lawes. Then with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win vnto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion all kind of men, but especiallie the lawieres of this realme. And finallie to the intent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommodities of discord & the comodities of concord & vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enmities, and that he there did openlie pardon all offenses committed against him. And to the intent that he might shew a prooffe thereof, he commanded that one Fog, whom he had long deadlie hated, should be brought then before him, who being brought out of the sanctuarie (for thither he had fled for feare of him) in the sight of the people he tooke him by the hand. Which thing the common people reioiced at and praised, but wise men tooke it for a vanitie."†

\* The latest of those instruments, is an appointment of Purveyors for the royal household, bearing date on the 17th of June 1483. See "Fœdera," tom. v. pars iii. p. 132.

† Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. iii. p. 397. See also Fabyan, p. 669.



The coronation of Richard, and Anne his consort (the daughter of the king-making Earl of Warwick), was solemnized in the abbey church at Westminster on July 6, 1483. Holinshed remarks, that, "the solemnitie was furnished, for the most part, with the selfe same prouision that was appointed for the coronation of his nephue;" which had been arranged to take place about six weeks prior to that date.\*

In the description of this ceremonial, given in an Harleian MS., it is stated that after the trumpets and clarions, the serjeant at arms, and the heralds bearing the king's heraldic insignia, came "the Crosse w<sup>t</sup> a ryall procession; fyrst Prests w<sup>t</sup> grey Amyses and then Abotts and Bushopes w<sup>t</sup> meters on ther hedds & crosers in there hands, and the Bushope of Rochest' bare the crosse before the Cardinall [Abp. Bourchier]. And then comyng th' Erl of Northumberland barynge the poyntles sworde before the king naked. The Lord

\* Holinshed's statement is corroborated by the wardrobe account of Peter Courteys, keeper of the king's wardrobe in 1483, which, so far as relates to the provisions for the coronation, has been published in the first volume of the "Antiquarian Repertory." Among the entries of articles of dress and ornament provided for various persons who were present at the coronation of Richard the IIIrd, is one headed "The deliveree of Divers stuff delivered for the use of Lorde Edward, Son of the late Kyng Edwarde the Fourthe, and of his Henxemen." It includes coloured velvet, cloth of gold, damask, satin, &c. for an ornamented dress, such as the prince might have worn at his own coronation, had it been permitted to have been celebrated. It is therefore most probable that the articles in question had been procured before the young king was superseded. Walpole, in his "Historic Doubts," has indeed alleged the contents of this wardrobe account as evidence that Prince Edward walked, or was expected to walk at his uncle's coronation; but if any proof were wanting that these articles were intended for his own coronation, it might be drawn from the circumstance of provision being made (according to the Wardrobe Account), not only for preparing a splendid dress for the Prince, but also for dresses for his Henxemen, whose attendance would not have been required had he been present in any other character than that of sovereign.

Stanley bare the masse [mace] before the kinge. Th' Erl of Kent bare the second sworde poynted on the right hand of the kinge. The Lord Lovell bare the iij sworde on the left hand the king naked. Then comyng the Duke of Suff: beringe the king's scepter. Th' Erl of Lyncolne bare the crosse w<sup>t</sup> the balle. Th' Erl of Surrey bare the iiij<sup>th</sup> sworde w<sup>tin</sup> the scabbard before the Kinge upright. Then comyng the Duke of Norff: beringe the King's Crowne betwyx his hands. And then foloinge or Soveraigne Lorde KINGE RYCH<sup>d</sup> the iij<sup>de</sup> and over his hed a clothe of estate borne w<sup>t</sup> the v. ports, and on eche syde of the kynge going a Bushope, the Bushope of Bathe and the Bushope of Durram, and so the King goinge in his robes of purple velvet. Then comyn the Duke of Bokingh'm bering the king's trayne w<sup>t</sup> a whyt staff in his hande. And then, comyng before the Quene both Erls and Barrons. Th' Erl of Huntyngham bare the quene's scepter, the Vicount Lyle the rod w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> dove upon. Th' Erle of Wylshyre bare the quene's Crowne. Then comynge or Soveraigne Lady the Quene, & over her hed a clothe of estate, and of every corner of the cloth a balle of golde, & on her hed a cyrclet of golde w<sup>t</sup> many precyous stones sett therein, & on every syde the quene going a Bushope, the Bushope of Excaster and the Bushope of Norwyche, and our Lady of Rychemond bare the quenes trayne. And our Lady of Suff: going in her estate by her selffe alone, and on her hed a cyrclet of Golde.\* Then after her comyng the Dochess of Norff: w<sup>t</sup> other ladyes to the number of xx<sup>tie</sup>. Then after them comyng knights and squiers w<sup>t</sup> many typstaves."†

\* Katherine duchess of Suffolk was the sister of King Richard. At the feast after the coronation, she was "served her estate be [by] her selffe alone."

† Vide "Excerpta Historica," p. 380; from Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 2115.

In recounting the formalities of the coronation, the writer of the MS. says that, the king and queen having quitted their seats of estate and advanced to the high altar, while the priests and clerks were "synging laten and prycksonge," their majesties "put of ther robes and *there stood all nakyd from the medall upwards*, and anone the Bushope anoynted bothe the Kyng and the Quyne. And when this was done, the Kyng and Quyne changed ther robes into clothe of golde, and then the Cardenall crowned them both w<sup>t</sup> great solempnetye, and the organs went full shortly [sweetly?]" But the former part of this statement must surely be understood with some reservation: probably Holinshed's narrative is here more accurate, who says "after diuerse songs solemnelie soong, they both ascended to the high altar, and were shifted from their robes, and had diuerse places open from the middle vpw<sup>rd</sup>, in which places they were anointed."\*

In his notice of the coronation feast, the MS. writer mentions the first course as being served "on dyshe of gold and an other of sylver all covered;" and adds, "and me Lord Awde-

\* "Chronicle," v. iii. p. 399.—Lists of the Dukes, Earls, Barons, and Knights, who were present at this Coronation, are to be found in the Chronicles of Grafton and Holinshed, and in the MS. in the Harleian Library, and in another belonging to the College of Arms. Holinshed, who refers to Grafton as his authority, mentions "Edward, prince of Wales, the king's onelie son," as having attended at his father's coronation: but this is unquestionably an error, for that prince is not mentioned in the list of nobles and knights who were present at the solemnity, printed in the "Excerpta Historica," from the Harleian and Herald's College MSS; neither had he the title of Prince of Wales until more than a month after the king's coronation at Westminster; nor does it appear from the wardrobe account above quoted, that any coronation robes or ornaments were provided for him, as they must have been, had his presence been anticipated. But though the king's son was absent, his nephews, the Earl of Warwick (son of George duke of Clarence), the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Lincoln, were all three in attendance, the two latter being among the bearers of parts of the Regalia.



ley Kerver to the kyng all the dynner-time, and me Lord Scroop of Upsall, Cupberer. And so me Lord Lovell standing before the Kyng all the dynner-tyme, and two squyers lying under the bord at the kyng's fete."———"And then came in the second cowerse, and at the said cowerse, came rydyng into the hall Sr Robt Dymoke the Kyng's Champion, and his horse trapyd w<sup>t</sup> whyt sylke & red, & hym selff in whyt harnesse, and the Heraulds of Armes standyng upon a stage among all the co'pany; then came rydyng up before the Kyng his champion, and there he declared before all the people, yf there be any man will say ageynst kyng Rychard the iij why he shoulde not p'tende the crowne, and anon all the people were in peace awhyle. And when he had all seyde, anon all the hall cryed Kyng Rychard all w<sup>t</sup> one voyce. And when this was done, anon on of the Lords brought unto this champion a cope full of red wyne cov'd, and so he toke the cope and uncov'd hym and dranke thereof, and when he had done, anon he casts owte the wyne and cov'd the cope agayne & made his obesans to the Kyng and turned his horsse abowt and rode through the hall w<sup>t</sup> the cope in his ryght hand, and that he had for his labor." The third course we are told "was so late that there myght no servyce be served savyng wafers and ipocrace." Lights were then brought, the king and queen quitted the festal apartment, and the company dispersed.

No sooner had Richard accepted the sovereignty, than, according to Fabyan, the young King Edward, and his brother the Duke of York "were put vnder sure kepyng within the Tower, in suche wyse that they never came abroad after."\*

\* "Chronicles," p. 670.—In the Harl. MS. No. 433, (fol. 57 b.) is an entry of a writ of Privy Seal, directed to John Hayes, commanding him, 'to content John Lomplorn, of London, grocer; Thomas Carter, wax-chandler; John Short, bocher [butcher], and othre of London forsaide, the som'e of £200, for vitaill spendid in the house of Edward the Vth, pretending to be king.'

Whatever may have been the real fate of those Princes—for there is some reason to believe, that the story of their having been smothered in the Tower at the instigation of their ambitious uncle, was a calumny invented by the Lancastrians for sinister purposes—the report of their having been murdered made a strong impression against King Richard, and greatly tended to strengthen the conspiracy that shortly afterwards hurled him from his throne.

The King kept his Christmas at Westminster, in great state, in the year 1484; prior to which, he had prevailed on the Queen Dowager to quit the sanctuary for the court, together with her five daughters, whom he had solemnly sworn to protect, and advance in marriage. During the festival, on Twelfth Day, he wore the crown at a royal banquet, at which his nieces were present; but it was remarked with surprise, that Elizabeth, the eldest, was dressed in robes exactly similar in form and colour to those of the Queen Consort. This was construed into a charge against the King, that he was even then meditating either the death or divorce of the partner of his bed and throne. The decease of the Queen, early in the following March, gave additional strength to these suspicions, yet there is no valid proof that Richard had any guilty participation in that event. The Queen was interred in the Abbey Church at Westminster, with all the honours appropriate to her station.\*

Divers notices of this Palace, connected with the time of Richard the IIIrd, occur in the very curious Harleian Manuscript, numbered 433; which is said to have once belonged to the great Lord Burleigh, but more recently was the property of

\* Early in his reign, King Richard confirmed to the '*Ankeresse of Westminster*,' an annuity of six marks, 'to be taken yearly, during her life, of the issues, prouffits, and revenues of Notingham.'—See Harl. MS. No. 433, fol. 41.

Strype, the historian.—Thomas Hunt was appointed Clerk of the King's works, for life, in the early part of that reign ; \* and Robert Mannyng had the office of " Purveyor of al workemen and of stufe," for the said works, " within the Palais of Westmynstre & the Toure of Londone," for the same terme, at the wages of *ten pence* a day, payable from the fee-farm of the town of Portsmouth."† Richard Scopeham, " yoeman of the corone," was made keeper of " the Toure nigh unto th' Exchequer ; " ‡ and various tenements, &c. within the Palace, were granted to James Frys, or Friis, (elsewhere called Frise, the King's Physician,) " for terme of his life, without any accompt, or other thing.§" The places mentioned in the grant are " a ten't that Thomas Stoklade had to farme, of Hēnry the vj<sup>th</sup>,"—" the logge [lodge] betweene the Rounde Toure & the lytell wat<sup>r</sup> conduct, which John Gurney late had,"—" a house which John Prudde late had,"—" a house under the Receipt of the Eschequer, conteyning in length xlvj fote, w<sup>th</sup> a litel house called the Pycherhouse, conteyning in length x fote & in brede vij fote, which John Randolf, squier, late had,—and a house w<sup>th</sup>in Westmynstre Hall, in a Towre vnder a house called Quene Margrettes Counsaill house." At that time, Sir John Catesby, whose family name the often-quoted distich,

" *Catesby* the rat, and Lovel the dog,  
Rule all England under a hog,"—

has rendered so notorious, " was keeper of the Palace of Westminster, the Fleet prison," &c. as appears from a writ of Privy Seal, to " allow the Sherriffs of London the payment of their fee" for his salary.|| The office of keeping the

\* Harl. MS. No. 433, fol. 35 b.

† Idem, fol. 53.

‡ Idem, fol. 57.

§ Idem, fol. 64.

|| Idem, fol. 79.



King's Private Palace, was granted for life, to Robert Apulby, with the wages of *vj<sup>d</sup>* a day, and *xiii<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>*. yearly for a gown: he had also the "keeping of the bedds & clothes there," and "*viiij<sup>d</sup>* by the day for himself & for a groome vnder him," for that office; the whole payable "of th' issues of the fee farme of Suth<sup>tn</sup>." \*

In December 1484, (2nd of Richard III.) a royal Commission was directed to Thomas Danyell (probably the crown surveyor), requiring him to seize and take in the king's name, in any place within the realm, as many bricklayers, masons, and other workmen, as were thought necessary for "the hasty expedicion of our worke w<sup>th</sup>in our Tower of London and our palais of Westm." † In the following March, an order was issued to Thos. Tirrel, Keeper of the Park of Wilgolet, in Essex, commanding him to suffer no one to purloin, or carry away from the said park, any timber, boards, laths, shingles, or any other stuff, "ordained for the works at Westminster and other places, but suffer such as they should send thither, to fell and carry away as much stuff as they shall think behoveful for the said work." Shortly after, (on the 12th of April,) William Marquelowe had licence to proceed into France and Normandy, to purchase Caen stone, plaster of Paris, and glass for the king's works;—and on the 29th of April, a Commission (tested at Westminster) was issued to Edmond Graveley, Serjeant Carpenter, directing him to take whatsoever carpenters and sawyers were "thought by him necessary for the hasty spede of the King's works in the Toure of London & Westm<sup>r</sup>; and also to take, cutte, fell, hewe, and carry al maner of tymbre as weele okes, elmes, as other tymbre nede-ful for the said workes, making resonable contentac'on as it appertaineth."

\* Harl. MS, No. 433, fol. 85 b. † Idem. fol. 217 b.

Whether the works which were thus hastily proceeded with, were for the purposes of defence, or of courtly splendour, has not been ascertained; and the only building at Westminster known to have been erected by King Richard the IIIrd, was a stone gateway, which stood at the north-western extremity of the Palace demesne, almost directly facing the gate of the Abbey Sanctuary.

King Richard was slain in the battle of Bosworth Field, on the 22d of August, 1485, after contending for his throne and life in the most gallant manner. He was, in fact, betrayed by his followers; and the Lord Stanley, who had been a principal cause of his defeat, consummated his treason by placing the crown which Richard had worn in the battle, and which had been found full of dents on the field, upon the head of the Earl of Richmond (Henry Tudor), whom the assembled army immediately saluted as King. The Earl's right to the throne, although contrary to the due order of succession, was admitted by the Parliament which met on the 7th of November following, and opened its session "*in camera com'uniter dicta crucis*," within the Palace at Westminster.\* Prior, however, to this recognition, the Earl had been crowned King "with all ceremonyes accustomed," in the Abbey Church (October the 30th), by the title of Henry the VIIth, the Cardinal Bouchier being the principal officiating prelate: Henry was the third monarch whom he had consecrated. On the same day, the King instituted a body-guard of fifty archers to attend on himself and his successors for ever; hence the origin of the present Yeomen of the Crown.

\* Vide "Rot. Parl." vol. vi. p. 267. By the father's side, Henry was descended from Owen Tudor, and the dowager Queen Katherine, relict of King Henry the Vth; and by the maternal line, from John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, the natural son of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swynford.

On the 18th of January, 1486, the King's marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the IVth, by which the claims of the rival Houses of York and Lancaster were united, was solemnized at Westminster, amidst the rejoicings of every class of people; yet Henry, who was extremely jealous lest it should be thought that his right to the throne was, in any wise, derived from the Yorkists, deferred the Coronation of his Queen for nearly two years; but, at length, that ceremony was performed on the 25th of November, 1487, with extraordinary splendour. On the second day preceding, the Queen came from Greenwich by water, royally attended, and among the barges of the City Companies which accompanied the procession, was "in especial, a barge called the Batchelors' barge, garnished and apparelled passing all other; wherein was ordeynid a great redde dragon, spowting flames of fyer into the Thames, and many gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiously devised to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with." On entering the Tower, "the King's highnes welcomed her in such manner and forme as was to all estates and others there being present, a very good sight, and right joyous and comfortable to beholde." On the following day she proceeded to Westminster, "and in diuers places of the citie were ordeynid singing children, some arayed like angelles, and others like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by." On the morrow (the day of the Coronation), the Queen "came forth of Westminster Hall, from the which place to the pulpit in Westminster church, she went upon newe baye clothe; but, more pitie, there was so moche people inordinately pressing to cut the bay-clothe that the Queen went vpon, that certin persones in the presse were slain, and the order of the ladies following the Queene was broken and distroubled."

On returning to the Great Hall after the Coronation (which



had been performed by Archbishop Morton), the Queen presided at the banquet table; a "goodlie stage," out of a window on the left side of the Hall, having been raised for "the King and my Ladie his mother, privilie and at their pleasure to see that noble feast and service." Various productions of ancient cookery, as "feisaunt royall, swan with chawdron, capons of high greece, and pike in latymer sawse," were among the dishes served at the royal board. The "Queen's mynstrells, and after them the mynstrells of other estates," played at intervals; and the heralds cried *largesse* three times, on proclaiming the Queen's titles. On the conclusion of the feast, her highness was served with fruit and wafers, and with ipocras, by the Mayor of London. She "then departed with God's blessing, and to the rejoicing of many a trew Englishman's hart." \*

Fabyan relates that in 1495, "the daye that y<sup>e</sup> mayre toke hys charge, in y<sup>e</sup> afternone came thorough the cytye, Henry duke of Yorke [afterwards Henry VIII.], a chylde about iiij yerres of age, towarde Westmynster, rydyngge uppon a courser, with many goodly gentlemen to conuey him. And upon the ix daye of Nouember folowyng was holden a goodly iustyse within the *paleys* of Westmynster, whereof were chalengeours syr Wyllia' de la Pool, then duke of Suffolk, th' erle of Essex, syr Robert Curson, and John Pechy, esquyre." †

The growing discontent which Henry's harsh government had excited among the people, was favourable to conspiracy;

\* Vide Ives's "Select Papers relating to English Antiquities," 4to, 1773. We learn from the "Fœdera," (tom. v. pt. iii. p. 181,) that in the same year as this coronation, Bernardo Andrea was constituted *Poet Laureat* by letters patent of Henry VII., tested at Westminster on the 27th of November.

† This tournament is noticed by Fabyan as if it had been held previously to the execution of Sir William Stanley, which, however, occurred in the early part of 1495; so that the date of the justing at Westminster should probably be 1494, instead of 1495. See "Chronicles," p. 685, edit. 1811.

and two claimants to the throne appeared at different periods, in the persons of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. Simnel had been taught to personate the young Earl of Warwick (who had been many years a prisoner), but his adherents were totally defeated at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, and himself made a captive. He was afterwards pardoned, and became a scullion in the King's kitchen; but subsequently attained the rank of a falconer. Warbeck's attempt was more formidable: he was the reputed offspring of a renegado Jew, of Tournay, who, in the course of some business at London, became known to Edward the IVth, and prevailed on him to stand godfather to his son. Hence "it was by some believed, that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbeck's wife; and thence people accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch."\* Professing himself to be Richard, Duke of York, the youngest son of Edward the IVth (whom the Duke of Gloucester is supposed to have had murdered in the Tower), and having been acknowledged by the Duchess of Burgundy (Edward's sister) as her nephew, he obtained many partizans; but the result of an unsuccessful attempt to obtain possession of Exeter, in September 1498, constrained him to submit to Henry's clemency. Having been brought to London in a sort of mock triumph, he was for some time detained under the custody of keepers at Westminster, when, finding means to escape, he fled to the sea-side, in hopes of being enabled to quit the country. But the coasts were guarded, and in despair the unhappy youth sought shelter in the Priory of Shene; where receiving, through the mediation of the Prior,

\* Hume's "History of England," vol. iii. p. 356, from Lord Bacon's History of Henry VII.

a promise from the King that his life should be spared, he again surrendered himself a prisoner.

“Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Westminster, and was one day set fettered in a paire of stocks before the doore of Westminster Hall, and there stood a whole day, not without innumerable reproaches, mocks, and scornings. And the next daie he was caried through London, and set upon a like scaffold in Cheape, by the standard, with like ginnes and stocks as he occupied the daie before, and there stood all daie, and read openlie his owne confession [of imposture], written with his own hand.”\*

Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry the VIIth, was married in November, 1501, to the Princess Katherine of Arragon. The matrimonial ceremonies were celebrated at St. Paul's, with great pomp; and the Prince and Princess for a short time afterwards resided at the Palace of the Bishop of London. Thence the King and Queen, “with the new wedded spouses, went from Baynardes Castell by water to Westmynster, on whome the Mayre and comminaltie of London, in barges garnished with standards, streamers, and penons of their deuce, gave their attendaunce. And there in the *Paleys* were suche marciall feates, suche valiaunt iustes, suche vygorous turneys, suche fierce fight at the barreyers, as before that tyme was of no man had in remembraunce. Of thys royall triumphe lord Edwarde, duke of Buckyngham,

\* Holinshed's “Chronicle,” vol. iii. p. 521. V. et Polyd. Virgil. “Angl. Hist.” p. 608, edit. 1546. Perkin Warbeck was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower; but in the following year he again engaged in an abortive attempt to free himself from captivity, together with the Earl of Warwick, who had been kept in such rigorous confinement that it has been said, “He knew not a goose from a capon.” For this attempt, Henry caused Warbeck to be hanged at Tyburn, on the 23d of November, 1499; and the Earl of Warwick was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the fifth day afterwards.



was chiefe chalengeour, and lord Thomas Grey, Marques Dorcet, was chiefe defendoure; which wyth their aydes and compaygnions, bare thaim selves so valyauntly that they obteyned great laude and honoure, bothe of the Spanyardes [by whom the Princess Katherine had been accompanied to England] and of their countrymen.”\*

Prince Arthur died at Ludlow about five months after his nuptials; and the King, being unwilling to restore the dowry of his widow, caused that Princess to be contracted to Henry, his second son; whom, on the 18th of February, 1503, he created Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall, with great ceremony, at the Palace of Westminster.†

Henry the VIIth died in his Palace at Richmond, in Surrey, on the 21st of April, 1509. His remains, after lying in great state during nine days, were conveyed with extraordinary pomp to Westminster, and interred there in the magnificent Chapel which he had himself built at the east end of the Abbey Church. His consort, Elizabeth, who died on the 11th of February, 1502-3, had been buried in the same place; and a very beautiful tomb was subsequently erected to their memory from the designs of Torregiano.‡

\* Hall's "Chronicle," p. 494.

† This creation is said to have been for some time delayed, in consequence of an apprehension that the young widow, Katherine, was in the state of pregnancy.

‡ Henry's Chapel (together with all the principal tombs which it now contains) has been faithfully and excellently represented by the numerous Architectural illustrations engraved from the drawings of Mr. NEALE, in that splendid publication the "History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster;" a work of which he was the origin and proprietor, and wherein his superior taste and talents in graphic delineations are admirably displayed. In the same work, is a very curious account of the manner in which Henry's funeral was conducted, extracted from a manuscript in the British Museum:

The accession of King Henry the VIIIth, was hailed with much joy by the people; and his first acts were very popular. In June, 1509, his marriage with the Princess Katherine, his brother's widow (a dispensation having been obtained from the Pope), was solemnized at Greenwich, and on the 24th of the same month their Majesties were crowned at Westminster with extraordinary pomp. On this occasion they went in procession from the Tower; the King, most splendidly apparelled, being mounted upon a goodly courser (in trappings of golden damask, purfled with ermine), and the Queen borne in a litter by two white palfreys, "trapped in white cloth of gold;" her person arrayed in white satin, embroidered, her hair of great length hanging loosely down her back, and on her head a coronal set with many rich orient stones.

On "the morrowe folowyng, being Sondaie, and also Midsummer daie, this noble Prince with his Queen, at time convenient," under canopies borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, "went from the Palaice to Westminster Abbey upon clothe called vulgarly cloth of ray, the which clothe was cut and spoyled by the rude and common people immediately after their repair into the Abbey; where, according to the sacred observaunce and auncient custome, his Grace with the Queen were annoynted and crowned by the Archbisshop of Cantorbury (William Warham); other prelates of the realme being there present, and the nobilitie with a great multitude of commons of the same." \*

detailed accounts of the King's obsequies are also given in the respective Chronicles of Hall and Holinshed.

\* Hall's "Chronicle," p. 509. The characteristic account given by this annalist of the splendid banquet in the Great Hall, and of the challenge to fight to "*th' utterance*," any person who should contend against the King's right to the throne, by the champion, "Sir Robert Dimmock," are deserving

Diffuse descriptions are given in the chronicles of Hall and Holinshed, of the dresses and decorations of the performers in the splendid pageants which formed the chief amusement of the English court in the early part of the new reign; and of which we shall here introduce some particulars.

After keeping the festival of Christmas at Richmond, in 1509, "the King, with the Queen and all their train," returned about the end of January to the Palace of Westminster. "And on a tyme beyng there," according to Hall, "his Grace, the erles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the nombre of twelue, came sodainly in a mornying into the *Quene's chambre*, all appareled in short

of attention. The chronicler states, that for the more honour and ennobling of this "triumphaunt Coronacion," there were prepared "bothe justes and turneis to be dooen in the *Palace* of Westminster, 'where, for the King's grace and the Queen, was framed a fair house, covered with tapestry and hanged with rich cloths of arras; and in the said Palace was made a curious fountain, and ouer it a castle; on the top thereof a great crown imperial, all the embatteling with roses and pomegranates gilded; and under and about the said castle a curious vine, the leaves and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold; the walls of the castle were coloured with white and green lozenges, and in every lozenge was either a rose, or a pomegranate, or a shief of arrowes, or else an H and K gilded with fine gold, with certain arches or turrets gilded, to support the said castle; and the targets of the arms of the defendants appointed for the justes thereupon sumptuously set. And out of several places of the same castle, on the several days of the Coronation, Justs, and Turney, out of the mouths of certain beasts, or gargels, did run red, white, and claret wine.'" "Chronicle," p. 510. Arthur Taylor has remarked, that the solemnities of this "triumphaunt coronacion" were followed by "justs and turnies" worthy of that golden age of pageants. See "Glory of Regality," p. 283.

In the Cottonian Library is a copy of the Coronation oath of Henry the VIIIth, with interlineations in his own handwriting. A *fac simile* of this curious document has been published by Sir Henry Ellis, who remarks that "one part especially indicates that Henry looked to something like supremacy in the Church of England at the very outset of his reign." Vide Ellis's "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. i. p. 176.—



cotes of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, every one of them his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and bucklar, like out-lawes or *Robyn Hodes men*, whereof the Quene, the ladies, and all other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commyng; and after certain daunces and pastime made thei departed. On Shrove Sunday the same yere, the Kyng prepared a goodly banket, in the *Parliament Chambre* at Westminster, for all the Ambassadors which then were here out of diuerse realmes and countries. The banket beyng ready, the Kyng, leadyng the Quene, entered into the Chambre; then the ladies, the Ambassadors, and other noble menne folowed in ordre. The Kyng caused the Quene to kepe the estate, and then satte the Ambassadors and ladies, as they were marshalled by the Kyng, who would not sit, but walked from place to place, making chere to the Quene and the straungers; sodainly the Kyng was gone. Shortly after, his Grace, with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after *Turkey fasshion*, in long robes of bawdkin powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of crimosyn veluet, with greate rolles of gold, girded with two swordes called cimiteries hangyng by great bawderikes of gold. Next came the lorde Henry, Erle of Wilshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in twoo long gounes of yelowe satin trauersed with white satin, and in euery bend of white was a bend of crimson satin, after the fashiō of *Russia*, or *Ruslande*, with furred hattes of greye on their hedes, either of them hauyng an hatchet in their handes and bootes with pykes turned vp. And after them came syr Edward Haward, then Admyral, and with him syr Thomas Parre, in doublettes of crimosin veluet, voyded lowe on the backe and before to the cannell bone, lased on the breastes with chaynes of siluer, and ouer that shorte clokes of crimosyn satyne, and on their heades

hattes after the dauncers fashion, with fessauntes feathers in theim: they were appareyled after the fashion of *Prusia* or *Spruce*. The torchbearers were appareyled in crymosyn satyne and grene, lyke *Moreskoes*, their faces blacke. And the Kyng brought in a *mommerye*. After that the Quene, the lordes, and ladyes, such as would, had played, the sayd mommers departed, and put of the same apparel, and sone after entered into the chamber in their vsual apparell. And so the Kyng made great chere to the Quene, ladyes, and Ambassadors. The supper or banket ended, and the tables auoyded, the Kyng beeyng in comunicacion with the Ambassadors, the Quene with the ladies toke their places in their degrees. Then began the daūsyng, and every man toke muche hede to them that daūsed." Other rich changes of dresses and amusements followed, but in the end, "after that the Kynges grace and the ladies had daūsed a certayne tyme, they departed euery one to his lodgyng." \*

On new year's day, 1510-11, the Queen was delivered of a son, whose birth gave occasion for extraordinary rejoicings. After the usual public thanksgivings for the recovery of her Highness, the court removed from Richmond, the place of her confinement, to Westminster, where preparations were made for the celebration of solemn "justs" in honour of the Queen. Henry, himself, entered the lists, having three companions ("aides"), all distinguished by fanciful names derived from old stories of romance and chivalry. The King was called *Cure loial*, and his aides were William (Courtenay) Earl of Devonshire, styled *Bon vouloir*; Sir Thomas Knevet, *Bon espoir*; and Sir Edward Nevil, *Valiant desire*; "whose names were set vpon a goodlie table, and the table hanged in a tree curiously wrought: and they were called, *Les quater Chevaliers de la Forest Salaigne*: these foure to run at

\* Hall's "Chronicle," p. 513-14.

the tilt against all comers, with other certein articles comprised in the said table.”

The exhibition took place on the 13th of February. A part of the Palace was fitted up for the King and Queen, hung round on the inside with cloth of gold, and the exterior adorned with rich cloth of arras. The Queen and the ladies having taken their seats in this temporary theatre, a Pageant was brought in representing forest scenery, rocks, hills, and dales, ornamented with trees, green turf, and flowers, artificially made of velvet, damask, silk, and satin; and in the forest stood six foresters, appropriately habited, having beside them a great number of spears. In the midst “was a castell standing, made of gold, and before the castell gate sat a gentleman freshlie apparelled, making a garland of roses for the prise. This forrest was drawn, as it were, by strength of two great beasts, a lion and an antelop; the lion florished all ouer with damaske gold, the antelop was wrought all ouer with siluer of damaske, his beames or hornes and tuskes of gold.” These beasts were harnessed to the pageant with great chains of gold; and they were led by persons in dresses of green silk, like Sylvans, or wild men of the woods. When the pageant came before the Queen it stopped, the foresters sounded their horns, the machine opened on all sides, and forth issued four knights on horseback, armed at all points, with nodding plumes on their helmets and magnificently accoutred. “On the other part, with great noise as well of trumpets as of drums, entered into the field the erle of Essex and Lord Thomas Howard, with manie other cleane armed:”—“and so the iusts began and endured all that daie.”\*

\* See Ellis's “Original Letters,” Second Series, vol. i. p. 180—183, for a copy of the challenge of the four Knights at the justs held in honour of the birth of a Prince, in 1510-11; appended to which are the names of the Knights defendants.



The following day these martial sports were renewed, and the King himself appeared on horse-back "vnder a paulion of cloth of gold and purple veluet embrodered, and powdered with [the letters] H and K, of fine gold, the compasse of the paulion aboue embrodered richlie and valansed with flat gold, beaten in wire, with an imperiall crowne in the top of fine gold; his bases and trappers of cloth of gold, fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the taile."\* The King was accompanied by his three aids, and attended by one hundred and sixty-eight gentlemen and yeomen on foot. Among the opposing Knights (whose garniture and trappings shone with correspondent splendour) was the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir Charles Brandon, Sir Thomas Bulleyn, the Marquess Dorset, Sir Giles Capel, and young Henry Guildford,—“and thus began the justs, which was valiantlie atchieved by the King and his aids, among whom his grace attained the prise.” After “euensong,” the ambassadors supped with the King, “and had a great banket;” at the conclusion of which, “his grace, with the Queen, lords, and ladies came into the White Hall, which was hanged richlie, and scaffolded and railed on all parts.” Here, after an “enterlude” by the gentlemen of the chapel, and divers songs, the King conferred the honour of knighthood on the celebrated Irish chieftain, O’Neal. The dancing then began, and after a while another sumptuous pageant was brought in upon wheels, from which “out of an arbour of gold in a garden of pleasure,” there alighted (in couples) six ladies most gorgeously apparelled, and six lords (one of whom was

\* For an account of a curious and valuable Roll in the archives of the College of Arms, ornamented with illuminations representing the King going in procession to this tournament, see Dallaway’s “Inquiries on Heraldry,” p. 178. Mr. Dallaway appears to have been mistaken with regard to the scene of the tournament. *Ibid.* p. 180.

the King, "in rich garments of purple satin, full of posies, &c." And then the minstrels, which were disguised, also danced, and the lords and ladies danced, that it was a pleasure to behold:—and so this triumph ended with mirth and gladnes."\*

During the sitting of Parliament in the early part of 1512, a judicial execution took place in the Palace; of which Holinshed has recorded the following particulars. A person named Newbolt, a yeoman of the royal guard, "whom the King highly favoured, slewe wilfully a servant of my lord Willoughbies" within the palace, for which offence the King commanded that a new gallows should be set up on the spot where the outrage had been committed; and the criminal was there hanged, the body remaining suspended two days; "a notable example of iustice, whereby the King verified the report that was commonlie noised abroad of him; namely, that he could not abide the shedding of man's blood, much lesse wilfull murther." Unfortunately for his subjects and his own family, this disinclination for bloodshed on the part of the King was succeeded by feelings of an opposite nature; and more persons suffered by the hand of the executioner during his reign than perhaps in any similar period of our history.

Stow says, "a great part of this Palace at Westminster was once again burnt in the year 1512, the 4th of Henry the

\* Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. iii. pp. 558—561, edit. 1808. The people who were admitted as spectators at these costly exhibitions, behaved with strange indecorum; and on this occasion, finding that the gold ornaments of the dresses and decorations were to be given away, they attacked the knights and ladies, tore their rich dresses, and appropriated the spoils to their own advantage; so that the royal guards were obliged to interfere in defence of the company. The infant Prince, whose birth gave origin to all this display, died within nine days after it had taken place.

Eighth ; since which time it has not been re-edified : only the Great Hall, with the offices near adjoining, are kept in good repairs, and it serveth, as before it did, for feasts at coronations, arraignments of great persons charged with treasons, keeping of the courts of justice, &c. ; but the Princes have been lodged in other places about the city, as at Baynard's Castle, at Bridewell, and Whitehall (sometimes called York Place), and sometimes at St. James's.\* From that period the Palace of Westminster, becoming less associated than before with the personal and domestic history of our sovereigns, loses much of its interest ; although many important affairs have been since transacted within its precincts.

The first of May, in 1517, has been distinguished in our annals by the name of *Evil May day*, in consequence of a serious commotion which then took place within the city, which the magistrates had found difficult to quell, and which arose from the discontent excited in the public mind by the encouragement given to foreign traders. When the tumult was suppressed, between four and five hundred persons were taken into custody, and " ten paire of gallows " were set up upon wheels in different parts of the city ; but this seems to have been done *in terrorem* merely, for only one man suffered, a broker, named John Lincoln, who had been the original instigator of the attack on foreigners. Several of his associates who had been drawn at the same time to the place of execution, with ropes round their necks, were respited, and remanded to prison.

It appears that mercy was extended to these misguided persons at the prayer of three Queens, Katherine the Queen of England, and her sisters-in-law Margaret and Mary the

\* Strype's Stow's " London," vol. ii. p. 622, edit. 1755.



Dowagers of Scotland and France, then at the English court; which ladies, according to Stow, "long time on their knees before the King, had begged their pardon, which, by persuation of the Cardinall Wolsey (without whose counsell he woulde doe nothing), the King granted vnto them."

Whether the credit of procuring this act of royal clemency be due to the solicitations of Henry's female relatives, or to the advice of his confidential minister, it may be presumed that the scene which followed was planned by the latter, who thought this a favourable opportunity for impressing on the citizens of London a deep sense of the King's goodness in pardoning their delinquency.—"On the thirteenth of Maie the King came to *Westminster-hall*, and with him the Lorde Cardinall, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the Earles of Shrewsbury, Essex, Wiltshire, and Surrey, with many lordes and other of the kings counsaill; the Maior of London, Aldermen, and other cheife Citizens were there in their best liueries by nine of the clocke in the morning. Then came in the prisoners, bound in ropes in a ranke one after another in their shirtes, and euerie one had a halter about his necke, being in number 400 men and 11 women. When they were thus come before the kings presence, the Cardinall laid sore to the Maior and Aldermen their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared how iustly they had deserued death. Then all the prisoners togither cried to the king for mercie, and therewith the Lords besought his Grace of pardon, at whose request the King pardoned them all. The general pardon being pronounced, all the prisoners showted at once, and cast their halters towards the roofe of the hall. The prisoners dismissed, the gallowses were taken downe, and the Citizens tooke more heede to their seruants."\*

\* Stow's "Chronicle," p. 851.

Both a Parliament and a great Council of state were held at Westminster in 1529, to assist the King in his projects to obtain a divorce from his Queen, Katherine of Arragon. "The king continually studying on this matter, called a counsaill of the chief of his nobles to begin at Westminster on the first daie of October next ensuing, and also somoned a Parliamēt, to begin the third day of November then immediately folowyng, & declared that the same counsaill should devise diuerse actes necessary and nedeful to be passed at the saied Parliament, for reformation of certain exaccions done by the clergie to the lay people." Cardinal Wolsey, who had long been the King's favourite and prime minister, now began to feel the decline of his master's partiality, and he embraced the opportunity afforded him by this assembly to endeavour to conciliate the feelings of those nobles whom his pride and insolence had formerly rendered enemies. But Wolsey's efforts failed: a writ of *Premunire* was issued against him, his property was confiscated to the King's use, and, in the following year, the humbled favourite died in disgrace and penury.

Prior to this, however, about the middle of October, Wolsey had been ordered to deliver up the Great Seal, and retire to Asher, (now Esher,) in Surrey; which he had scarcely done, than the King took possession of *York Place*, (the archiepiscopal Palace of the see of York,) in which the Cardinal had long dwelt, in almost more than princely splendour. Whilst he yet "lay at Asher," the imperious sovereign required from him a full and entire recognition of his own right, and that of his successors, to York Place. Wolsey was in no condition to dispute the mandate, and therefore gave the recognizance demanded;\* yet not without stating

\* In this singular instrument, which is printed in the "Collections" appended by Fiddes to his "Life of Cardinal Wolsey," and which was recorded in the King's

that it was neither just nor conscientious to require from him the surrender of the patrimony of his See. Hall says, "the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Yorke, by their writing, confirmed the same feoffment, and then the King changed the name, and called it the Kinges manor of Westminster, and no more Yorke Place."

Having thus secured the inheritance of this demesne to the crown, the King immediately began to enlarge and improve it, by erecting additional buildings, and connecting them with the adjoining park of St. James; where also, about the same time, he built a new Palace, on the site of the ancient Hospital dedicated to that Saint. Among the improvements at York Place, were a new Gallery, (brought from Asher,) a spacious room for entertainments, an elegant gateway (designed by Holbein,) across the main street, and a sumptuous gallery which overlooked the Tilt-yard, and formed the line of communication with St James's Park. He also formed a tennis court, cock-pit, and bowling alleys; for he was fond of those diversions, as well as of tilts and tournaments, and the more athletic exercises.

The time of the completion of King Henry's buildings at York Place and St. James's, can be tolerably well ascertained by an Act of Parliament which was passed in the summer of 1536, (28th Hen. VIII. chap. xii.) for the annexation of those estates to the ancient Palace of Westminster. After reciting that the old Palace was then, and had been long time "in utter ruine and decaye," the act states, that the King had lately obtained and purchased one great mansion place and house, sometime

Bench and Chancery Courts, at Westminster, respectively, on the 7th and 11th days of February 1530, *York Place* is stated to consist of one messuage, two gardens, and three acres of land, with appurtenances, in the Town of Westminster.



parcell of the inheritance of the Archbishopric of York, "not moche distaunt from the same auncient Paleys," and that upon the soil and ground thereunto adjoining, his Highness "moste sumptuously and curiously hath buylded and edified many and distinct beautifull, costely, and plesaunt Lodgynges, Buyldyngs, and Mansions," and also "made a Parke thereunto, walled and envyroned with brick and stone," and therein devised and ordained many and singular commodious things, pleasures, and other necessities, most apt and convenient to appertain only to so noble a Prince, for his pastime and solace, "*Be it therefore enacted,*" &c.—that all the said soil, ground, mansion, and buildings, together with the said Park, &c. and also the soil of the said ancient Palace, shall be the King's whole Palace at Westminster, and henceforth, be reputed and called the *King's Palace at Westminster*, for ever; and that the same Palace shall include all the street or way leading from Charing Cross to the Sanctuary gate at Westminster, and also all the houses, buildings, lands, and tenements, on both sides of the said street, unto Westminster Hall, from the Thames on the east part to the Park wall on the west part, and enjoy all the like prerogatives, liberties, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, and privileges, as appertained to the King's Ancient Palace, which latter from henceforth shall be deemed and reputed as a member and parcel only of the new Palace made by this Act.\*

At what time the new Palace obtained the name of *Whitehall* is uncertain; but it does not appear that such appella-

\* Vide "Statutes of the Realm," vol. iii. p. 668. By a Schedule annexed to the Act, it was provided that William Babyngton, the Keeper of the old Palace, (his heirs and assigns,) should still enjoy the office of Keeper of the Palace at Westminster, with all its profits and advantages, in as large and ample manner as before.

tion was in general use until Queen Elizabeth's reign. When Sir Thomas More resigned the Great Seal to King Henry in May 1532, it still bore the name of "Yorke Place;"\* but that a building there was then called 'the White Hall,' (possibly erected by Wolsey,) is evident from a memorandum in the Close Rolls, which records the delivery of the *new* Great Seal, on the 6th of September, in the same year, to Sir Thomas Audley, which was done "præfato Rege tunc apud *Le Whitehall* prope Palatium suum Westmonasteriense in *Le Bankit Chamber* ibidem existente."†

On the 25th of January 1533, King Henry was privately married to the Lady Anne Boleyn in his own *closet*, (as Stow calls it,) in the new Palace; and when she was crowned, on the 1st of June following, she was "somewhat bigge with chylde." The ceremony was performed in the Abbey Church, at Westminster, by Archbishop Cranmer. She alone, of the Queens of Henry the Eighth, was thus honoured by an independent inauguration, her predecessor Katherine of Arragon having gone through the ceremony at the same time with the King himself, whereas on the latter occasion he was necessarily only a spectator. Hall and Holinshed have described at great length the pageants and solemnities which were displayed; and which were strikingly characteristic of the strong passion for gorgeous yet incongruous Pageantry which was then entertained both by the sovereign and the people.‡

The ceremonies in Westminster Abbey, and the subsequent entertainment in the Hall, were conducted on the most magnificent scale; as if the King was determined to do all

\* "Fœdera," tom. vi. pars ii. p. 171. † Idem, p. 173.

‡ Hall's "Chronicle," pp. 798-805. Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. iii. pp. 779-782. See also Stow's "Chronicle," pp. 947-957; but the accounts of both the latter annalists, are little more than repetitions from Hall.

possible honour to one who was then the object of his passionate attachment, but whom he afterwards abandoned to contempt, infamy, and judicial punishment, on apparently inconclusive evidence of conjugal infidelity. During the banquet the King with divers ambassadors stood, to behold the service, in "a little closet," made on the right hand "out of the Cloyster of St. Stephens."\*

On the 9th of July, 1534, Lord Dacre, of the North, was arraigned of high treason, in Westminster Hall, before the Peers; the Duke of Norfolk presiding as high steward of England. "Beyng brought to the barre with the axe of the Tower before him, after his inditement red, he not only improued [disproved] the sayd inditement, as false and maliciously deuised against him, and answered euery part and matter therin contained, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusers, whiche there were readie to auouch their accusacions, that to their great shames, & to his great honor, he was found that day by his peres not giltie, whiche vndoubtedly the commons excedyngly ioyed and reioysed of, insomuche as there was in the hall at those woordes, 'not giltie,' the greatest shoute and crye of ioy that the like no man liuyng may remembre that euer he heard."†

In the Parliament which commenced its session at Westminster, on the 3rd of November 1534, the important Statute was passed by which all Papal authority in Ecclesiastical affairs, was, as it is stated by Hall, "vtterly abholished out of this realme, God be euerlastyngly praysed there-

\* Hall's "Chronicle," p. 804, 5.

† Idem, p. 815. Dr. Lingard, remarking on "the facility with which during this reign, state prisoners were convicted, adds that Lord Dacre, or Dacres, was the only one within his recollection who was acquitted." "Hist. of England," vol. iv. p. 487.



fore.”\* The supremacy of the English Church was at the same time transferred to the King;—and for their conscientious denial of that authority, those illustrious victims John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, the late Chancellor, were in the following summer condemned at Westminster for high treason;—and being shortly afterwards decapitated on Tower hill, their heads were fixed *in terrorem* upon London Bridge.

A procession from Greenwich to Westminster, immediately after the nuptials of Henry the VIIIth and Anne of Cleves is thus noticed by Holinshed. “The fourth of Februarie (1540) the king and she remoued to Westminster by water, on whom the Lord Maior & his brethren, with twelue of the cheefe companies of the citie, all in barges gorgeously garnished with baners, penons, and targets, richlie couered, and furnished with instruments sweetly sounding, gaue their attendance: and by the waie, all the ships shot off; and likewise from the tower, a great peal of ordnance went off lustilie.”

During the latter part of this reign, the *King's will* was the *law*. Hence the promoters of Reformation, and its opposers, were adjudged to the same flames; the blood of the Protestant and of the Catholic was shed upon the same block; and Henry, whilst vehemently contending against the Pope's infallibility, supported his own with vindictive bigotry. He died on the night of the 29th of January 1547, and was buried in the Royal\*Chapel at Windsor.

\* Hall's “Chronicle,” p. 817.



*R. W. Billings del.*

*S. Williams sc.*

CELL IN STAIR-CASE TURRET, S. E. CORNER, PAINTED CHAMBER.

## CHAPTER IV.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE PALACE, AT WESTMINSTER,  
FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE SIXTH TO THE  
DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT BY FIRE  
ON THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1834.

EDWARD the VIth was crowned in the Abbey Church at  
Westminster, by Archbishop Cranmer, on Shrove Sunday,

(February the 20th,\*) 1547; but the solemnities were shortened on account of "the tender age" of the King.† Prior to the coronation, as appears by Edward's own '*Journal*,' he went into Westminster Hall, "and it was asked the people, 'whether they would have him to be their King?'" and they "answered, Yea, yea." After the feast, the young sovereign dubbed fifty-five *Knights of the Carpet*;‡ and on the morrow, there were holden "royall *justes* against all comers."

An important change in the destination of *St. Stephen's Chapel* took place in the early part of this reign; the whole of the collegiate foundation attached to it having become vested in the crown, in pursuance of the statute for the suppression of free Chapels, &c. in the year 1548. The site and other buildings of the College were mostly granted to Sir Ralph Fane, (as will be more particularly shewn hereafter,) but the Chapel itself was especially reserved to be appropriated for the accommodation of the Commons when assembled in Parliament. Since that period it has been always

\* Holinshed says, (*Chronicles*, vol. iii. p. 866.) the coronation was solemnized on "the 25th of February," but that he was in error is evinced by several documents printed in the "*Fœdera*," tom. vi. pars iii. pp. 149, 150; as well as by other authorities. A very curious representation of Edward's progress through the City on the day before the coronation, has been published by the Society of Antiquaries. It was engraved from an old picture formerly at Cowdray House, in Sussex, but unfortunately destroyed by fire with that building, in 1793.

† See "The *Order* for the Coronation" (ex *Libro Concilii*) in the Collection of Records annexed to Burnet's "*History of the Reformation*." It is singularly expressed in one part of these directions, that the King, having made his prayer and offering, shall then "fall *groveling* before the altar," and the Archbishop say over him the collect *Deus humilium*, &c.

‡ Strype has given their names in his "*Ecclesiastical Memorials*," (pp. 327-329) from a MS. in the College of Arms.



used for the sittings of the Commons' House, when summoned to meet at Westminster.

One of the principal events which took place at Westminster in Edward's reign, was the trial in the Great Hall, of the Protector Somerset, in December 1552. He was arraigned both for treason and felony, yet "the peers did acquit him of the treason, but found him gilty of the felonie." "The people in the Hall," Stow says, "supposing he had beene cleerely quit when they sawe the axe of the Tower put downe, made such a shrike, casting up their caps, &c. that their crie was heard to the Long Acre, beyond Charing Crosse." The Duke was beheaded on the 22nd of February, in the following year. Edward the Sixth died on the 6th of July, 1553, and was interred in the Abbey Church at Westminster on the 18th of the ensuing month. He was succeeded by the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey;—whom Noailles, the then ambassador from the French King, represents to have been *crowned*, yet that fact has not been ascertained by our own historians. She was the first female sovereign of this kingdom, but after a short-lived sway of thirteen days, was obliged to yield the throne to Mary, the eldest sister of the late king, whose more legitimate claims were supported by the general body of the people. Mary's coronation took place on the 1st of October, in the above year. On that day, she proceeded by water from Whitehall, "to the olde Palace, and there remained till about eleven of the clocke, and then went on foote upon blue cloth, being railed on either side, vnto Saint Peter's Church, where shee was solemnelie crowned and anointed by the Bishop of Winchester [Gardiner]; which coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities, then used according to the olde custome, was not fully ended till it was nigh foure of the clocke that she

returned from the Church, before whom was then borne three swords sheathed, and one naked. The great service that day done in Westminster Hall, at dinner, by divers noble men, would aske long time to write. The Lord Maior of London and twelve citizens kept the high cupboard of plate as butlers, and the Queene gave to the Maior for his fee a cup of golde with a couer waying seventeene ounces.”\*

The nuptials of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain were solemnized at Winchester in July 1554; and on the 12th of August the royal pair came through London to Whitehall, amidst an ostentatious display of foreign and domestic wealth. On the 12th of November following, they rode together to open the Parliament at Westminster, having two swords and two caps of maintenance borne before them. By that assembly, which held two or three of its latter meetings “in the Great Chamber at the *White Hall*,—for that the Queene by reason of sicknesse was not able to go abroad,” the English Church was again subjected to Papal domination. †

\* Stow’s “Chronicle,” p. 1042. The account given by the same writer, of the Queen’s gorgeous procession from the Tower to Whitehall, on the preceding day, is deserving of perusal.

† Holinshed’s “Chronicles,” vol. iv. p. 65. Strype in his “Ecclesiastical Memorials,” (vol. iii. p. 204) under the date of Nov. 27th 1554, mentions the following singular exhibition as then taking place.—“This day did the King and Queen, and the Lords of Parliament, sit at the court at Whitehall, in the chamber of Presence: where the Queen [Mary] sat highest, richly apparelled, and *her Belly laid out*, that all men might see that she was with child. At this Parliament, it was said, labour was made to have the King crowned: and some thought that the Queen, for that cause, did lay out her belly the more. On the right hand of the Queen sat the King, and on the other hand of him the Cardinal [Pole], with his cap on his head.” Cardinal Pole harangued the Members of the Parliament, persuading them to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, and offering the Pope’s benediction and absolution, which they accepted; and re-assembling the next day, they all kneeled down to receive it, except one

On the last day of September 1555, "by occasion of great winde and raine that had fallen, were such fluds that on that morning the Palace at Westminster, and Westminster Hall, was overflowen with water unto the stair foote going to the Chauncerie and King's Bench, so that when the Lord Mayor of London should come to present the Sherifes to the Barons of the Exchequer, all Westminster Hall was full of water : and by report there that morning, a wherrie-man rowed with his boat over Westminster Bridge into the Palace Court, and so through the Staple Gate, and all the Wooll staple into the Kinges street.\*

After the decease of Queen Mary, on the 17th of November 1558, her half-sister, Elizabeth, was, by the concurrence of the Lords and Commons, who were then sitting in Parliament at Westminster, raised to the vacant throne. The alterations which were almost immediately made in the services of the Church, under her directions, were considered by the Catholic Bishops as so indicative of her hostility to their mode of worship, that they all refused to assist in the solemnities of her Coronation. At length, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, was prevailed on to officiate, and Elizabeth was crowned in the Abbey Church by that prelate, on the 15th of January 1559; the ceremonies being performed according to the ancient rites. "She dined," says Holin-

individual, Sir Ralph Bagnal, who refused his consent to this submission, and said, "he was sworn to the contrary to King Henry VIII., which was a worthy Prince, and laboured twenty-five years before he could abolish him [the Pope]. And to say I will agree to it, I will not." Notwithstanding the display made by the Queen, and that public thanksgivings were made on the occasion, it appears that her supposed pregnancy arose from dropsical affections.

\* Stow's "Chronicle," p. 1061. The Westminster *Bridge* mentioned in this extract, was an erection, or stage, of timber, supported on piles, and extending many yards from the shore into the river, for the conveniency of landing at the old Palace.



shed, “in Westminster Hall, which was richlie hoong, and euverie thing ordered in such roiall manner as to such a regall and most solemn feast appertained;” and, after the accustomed services and challenge by Sir Edward Dimmock, the champion, the festal ceremonies “tooke end with great joy and contentation to all beholders.”\*

Whilst Elizabeth’s first Parliament, which met on the 25th of January, in the same year, was engaged in promoting a reformation in ecclesiastical affairs, a *Conference* was appointed by the Queen to be held in Westminster Abbey, on three of the principal points in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, viz. “the performance of divine worship in an unknown tongue;”—“the power of particular churches to alter rites and ceremonies;”—and “the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass.” On each side, the arguments were to have been managed by nine Doctors; but after the first proposition had been entered into, the Catholic divines refused to suffer their reasons to be committed to writing, although such a course of proceeding had been previously agreed to. The Conference therefore was broken up, and all the assembly dismissed, except the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln (White and Watson), who were committed to the Tower for contempt, in giving such a pernicious example of “disorders, stubbornesse, and self-will.” Shortly afterwards, the Parliament finally abrogated the authority of

\* Holinshed’s “Chronicles,” vol. iv. p. 176. The Queen’s progress from the Tower, on the preceding day, is described with great minuteness in the same work, and at great length. A great variety of rich Pageantry, with numerous devices, and several poetical orations, spoken by children, greeted her passage through the city; and at Temple Bar “were the two images of Gogmagog the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two giants big in stature, furnished accordingly, which held in their hands aboue the gate a table, wherein was written, in Latine verses, the effect of all the pageants which the citie before Lad erected.” Ibid. pp. 158—176.

the See of Rome, and restored the Supremacy of the Church to the English Crown.

In February 1579, such an abundance of snow fell in London that it covered the streets to the depth of between two and three feet; but after a few days a thaw ensued, "with continuall rain," Stow says, "a long time after, which caused such high floods that the marshes and low grounds being drowned for a time, the water rose so high in *Westminster Hall*, that, after the fall thereof, some fishes were found there to remaine."\* On the 6th of April, in the following year, according to the same annalist, a severe shock of an earthquake was experienced in the metropolis, and many churches and houses were much shattered by it, as well as several persons killed and hurt. During its continuance, which did not exceed a minute, "the great clocke bell in the Palace at Westminster, stroke of itself against the hammer with shaking, and divers clocks and bells in the city and elsewhere did the like."†

Divers trials for high treason took place in Westminster Hall during the long-extended reign of Queen Elizabeth; the most memorable of which were those of the Earls of Essex and Southampton, on the 19th of February 1601. They were both condemned, but the former alone suffered the punishment of death; he was beheaded in the Tower on the sixth day after his trial.

Elizabeth died at Richmond on the 24th of March 1603; and was buried in Henry the VIIth's Chapel, at Westminster, on the 28th of the month following, near the same spot where Queen Mary had been inhumed. Her funeral was exceedingly magnificent; upwards of 1600 persons (exclusive of surrounding crowds) attending the ceremony.‡

\* Stow's "Chronicle," pp. 1160. † Ibid, p. 1163.

‡ A sumptuous monument of the Corinthian order was afterwards raised to

By the artifices of Cecil, the state Secretary, the reversion to the throne had been secured to James the VIth of Scotland, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Lord Darnley; and he was proclaimed King of England on the day of Elizabeth's decease.\* His right to the crown was afterwards recognized by the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 19th of March, 1604. Prior to this, however, (on the 26th of the preceding July,) both King James and Anne of Denmark, his consort, had been crowned in the Abbey Church by Archbishop Whitgift; but that ceremony was hastily performed, and without parade, the people having been forbidden to congregate, on account of the plague which was then raging in a dreadful manner.† Though but few persons had been summoned to attend, the Coronation feast was, as usual, held in the Great Hall, and the Lord Mayor, and principal citizens of London, executed their customary service as chief butlers.

In 1605, the Parliament House became connected with one of the most extraordinary events in English history,—an event, indeed, hardly to be paralleled, in atrocious design, in the annals of any country ancient or modern. This was

her honour in the north aisle of Henry's Chapel. It includes an altar tomb, on which is a recumbent statue of the Queen, finely executed in white marble.

\* King James made his public entry into London on the 7th of May, 1603; and it is remarkable that on the twelfth day afterwards, he granted a license under the Privy Seal, tested by himself at Westminster, to Laurence Fletcher, *William Shakespeare*, and others, "Freely to use and exercise the art and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Morals, Pastorals, Stage-plaies, and such others, like as theie have alreadie studied or hereafter shall use or studie," either at the Globe Theatre, in Surrey, or elsewhere, "within anie Toun Halls or Moote Halls, or other convenient places," throughout his dominions. See "*Fœdera*," tom. vii. pars ii. p. 71.

† Vide "*Fœdera*," tom. vii. pars ii. p. 79, for the King's proclamation to restrain the people from assembling at his coronation.



the conspiracy usually termed the **GUNPOWDER PLOT**, a scheme for destroying the King, Lords, and Commons when assembled in Parliament, by blowing up the building with gunpowder laid in the vaults beneath the House of Lords. This most sanguinary project seems to have been the result of the desperation and despair to which the Catholics were reduced by the unrelenting severity of the government under Elizabeth, and the disappointment of their hopes of redress after the accession of James the 1st. These feelings were general among the professors of the ancient faith ; yet the great body of that class of the King's subjects remained peaceable, and seemed disposed to submit to oppression in silence, rather than incur the hazard of greater evils which might arise from resistance and rebellion. But there were among the English Catholics a few hot-headed zealots, whom persecution had rendered furious, and with them originated this detestable conspiracy.

According to the evidence adduced by the agents of Government, the first contriver of this dark scheme of vengeance was *Robert Catesby*, Esq., of Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire ; said to have been a lineal descendant of Sir Wm. Catesby, the favourite and minister of Richard the Third, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Bosworth field, and afterwards executed. Catesby, the conspirator, had forsaken the faith of his ancestors, and led a profligate life in his youth, so that he had seriously injured both his fortune and his character. He had been engaged in the rising of the Earl of Essex against Elizabeth ; and narrowly escaped capital punishment, not without paying a heavy fine. Repenting of his religious apostasy, he exchanged the character of a reprobate for that of a zealot, and endeavoured to atone for his past errors by engaging in this most perilous undertaking ; conceiving that it would be serviceable to the Church

from which he had antecedently seceded. Horrible as the contrivance was by which he sought to attain his object, it was probably not an entirely original conception, since the idea might have been derived from similar schemes of secret revenge, which had not long before this period been attempted at Antwerp, to destroy the Duke of Parma, and at the Hague, to blow up the Council of Holland. Whether Catesby's project was thus suggested, or was the fruit of his own invention, he did not long confine it within his own bosom, but sought to obtain the confederates requisite for so daring an attempt, among those who, like himself, had been persecuted for their adherence to the Catholic faith, and whom he therefore expected to find imbued with the same fierce spirit of retributive vengeance as that by which he was himself animated. *Thomas Winter* is said to have been the first who shared his confidence. He was a gentleman by birth, and a soldier by profession, who had travelled and served abroad, and obtained acquaintance in foreign courts. On the first mention of the design to him by Catesby, he instantly objected to the portentous hazard of the scheme, and the scandal in which its failure would involve the professors of their mutual faith; yet it seems that his caution was readily overpowered by his personal friendship for the projector of the plot, and the specious arguments which he brought forward to recommend its adoption. *John Wright*, *Thomas Percy*, and *Robert Keyes*, were successively made associates in the undertaking. To quiet the scruples of some or all of those persons, the arch-conspirator availed himself of the sanction of the Church, giving them to understand that *Father Garnet*, the chief of the Jesuits in England, had been consulted on the subject, and had declared the scheme to be justifiable, as producing good out of evil. How far Catesby imposed on his friends, or on his casuistical coun-

sellor, will always remain a question of much uncertainty. Garnet, who was one of the victims of this horrible project, always declared that he had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, except the information he received under the seal of confession ; and that, instead of sanctioning the proceeding by his authority, he employed his influence to defeat the project, most strongly recommending that it should be dropped :—but these assertions are of doubtful validity.

With the persons above mentioned were now associated *Guido Fawkes*, a soldier of fortune, who had been in the service of the King of Spain ; and *Thomas Bates*, Catesby's servant, a Catholic and a sufferer for religion. All these men bound themselves by the strongest oaths, with the solemnity of the Eucharist, to exert themselves to the utmost to carry their project into execution, to observe the most profound secrecy, and not to communicate the design to any one without the concurrence of the whole party. The grand outlines of the project having been developed by the contriver, and the objections of his companions satisfied or silenced, by the real or pretended concurrence of Garnet and other Jesuits, a consultation was held as to the arrangement of the details of the undertaking.

Thomas Percy was a relative of the Earl of Northumberland, by whose means he had been admitted into the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, which circumstance afforded him a ready access to court. It was decided that Percy should hire a house as near as possible to the Parliament House, so that a mine might be constructed from one to the other ; and, in pursuance of this resolution, a dwelling was procured that seemed well adapted for the purpose. It was taken in the name of Percy, and tenanted by Fawkes (who called himself *John Johnson*), under the character of his servant. Another house was obtained on the opposite side of the Thames, at



Lambeth, which was occupied by Keyes ; and there the conspirators gradually laid in a stock of gunpowder.

After these preliminary arrangements the plotters separated for a few months. About the 11th of December, 1604, they met again and commenced their operations ; all of them, except Keyes, who remained at Lambeth, having entered the house at Westminster late at night. They had provided themselves with the tools requisite for making an excavation, and had also brought with them supplies of hard eggs, baked meats and pasties, wine and beer, sufficient to last them twenty days, that they might not create suspicion by going abroad for food. By way of resource in the last extremity, they had likewise provided arms and ammunition, that they might be enabled to defend themselves against hostile attacks should the plot be discovered. In the garden attached to Percy's dwelling was an old building, raised against the wall of the Parliament House, and within that building the conspirators began to open the mine. They divided each day into two portions, devoting sixteen hours to labour and the remainder to repose ; and arranging their several tasks in such a manner, that while one rested the other three continued to work, in the day-time at the mine, and in the night removing the rubbish and concealing it under the soil of the garden. Fawkes meanwhile kept watch round the house, in which he alone was seen, giving notice, by some private signals, to his accomplices to abstain from working when any one approached the spot, lest the noise should betray them. They had continued their labour for a fortnight, when Fawkes informed them that the Parliament had been prorogued from the 7th of February to the 3rd of October following. They then separated to spend the Christmas holidays at their own homes, warily engaging to suspend all intercourse with each other, either by letter or message.

During the recess, Catesby had gained two new associates, *Christopher Wright* and *Robert Winter*; and on the meeting of the whole party in town they renewed their undertaking. They had before found the work so much heavier than they anticipated, that they had been obliged to summon Robert Keyes from Lambeth to assist them; but, notwithstanding his aid, the difficulties that opposed their progress seemed almost insurmountable. The influx of water from the Thames, at a certain depth, rendered it impossible to carry the mine beneath the foundation-wall of the Parliament House, and its thickness, amounting to nine feet, and its solid construction of large stones, rendered its perforation a most toilsome task to persons unaccustomed to manual labour. Animated with zeal, still they persevered, until one day they were alarmed by a very unusual rushing noise, which seemed to proceed from above the spot where they were working. Fawkes was despatched to make inquiries, and on his return he acquainted them that there was a vaulted cellar under the House of Lords, which had been used as a repository for coals, which were then on sale, and the noise they had heard was caused by shovelling and removing the coals. He further ascertained that the cellar would be to let as soon as it was empty. This circumstance at once determined the conspirators to abandon the mine, and make the cellar the scene of their nefarious operations. Fawkes, therefore, hired the cellar in the name of his master; and having purchased the remaining coal, as he alleged for a supply of winter fuel, he was enabled to obtain immediate possession of the place. Into this vault were transferred about twenty barrels of gunpowder, which had been stored at Lambeth; and into the barrels, or hampers rather, in which they had been packed, were thrown large stones, iron bars, and the working instruments that had been used in the mine,

with intent, as Fawkes afterwards declared, “to make the breach the greater.” The whole was covered with faggots and billets of wood; and to add to the deception, a quantity of old lumber and empty bottles was placed in the cellar. These preparations was completed by May, 1605; and the conspirators then carefully closed the cellar, having made such arrangements as would enable them, at any time, to ascertain whether it had been entered during their absence. They then quitted London, to meet again in September, a few days before the expected opening of Parliament. At the appointed time they came together, and shortly after it was announced that a fresh prorogation of Parliament would take place, from October to the ensuing 5th of November.—“This disappointment alarmed the conspirators; it was possible that their project had been discovered; and, to ascertain the fact, Winter\* was employed to attend in the Parliament House, and to watch the countenances and actions of the Commissioners during the ceremony of prorogation. He observed that they betrayed no sign of suspicion or uneasiness; that they walked and conversed in apparent security on the very surface of the volcano prepared for their destruction. Hence it was inferred that they must be still ignorant of its existence.”† These repeated delays, however, contributed greatly to the frustration of the plot. Catesby, the prime mover of the undertaking, and the only rich man amongst the conspirators, began to perceive the necessity of engaging fresh associates who would be able to furnish pecuniary aid, or otherwise yield important assist-

\* Thomas Winter was a retainer of Lord Mounteagle, who was one of the Commissioners, and thus the former obtained admission to witness the prorogation without any difficulty.—See Jardine’s “Criminal Trials,” (Library of Entertaining Knowledge,) vol. ii. p. 38; which contains the best account of the Gunpowder Plot ever published.

† Lingard’s “Hist. of England,” 4to. vol. vi. p. 43.



ance. With these views he prevailed on *Ambrose Rookwood*, of Coldham Hall, in Suffolk, *Sir Everard Digby*, of Drystoke, in Rutlandshire, and *Francis Tresham*, of Rushton, in Northamptonshire, three Catholic gentlemen of considerable property, to join him. In addition to the funds promised by those persons, Percy, who was steward to the Duke of Northumberland, engaged to give up about 4,000*l.*, (of rents,) which were in his hands belonging to that nobleman.

Catesby had another task to perform previously to the execution of his project, in which he found greater difficulties than in securing pecuniary supplies. He was called upon to suggest proper means for giving warning to such Catholic Peers, or others, who might be expected to attend in Parliament, and whom it would be desirable to save from destruction. Each of the conspirators perhaps had some friend or relative for whose safety he was anxious to provide. Catesby himself, reckless of the waste of human life, would willingly have sacrificed all who stood in his way to the success of his favourite scheme of vengeance and retribution; but he was obliged to listen to the remonstrances of his comrades, who, not satisfied with his vague assurances that he would contrive means to ensure the safety of the Catholic Lords, determined each one to adopt his own method of giving effectual warning to those for whom he felt particularly interested. Hence originated the famous *Monitory letter* to Lord Mounteagle, which led to the discovery and frustration of the plot.

About ten days before the time appointed for the meeting of Parliament, Lord Mounteagle (the son of Lord Morley), a Catholic Peer, received a letter in an unknown and somewhat obscure hand, which in ambiguous yet forcible terms admonished him to absent himself from Parliament "on account of a great, yet hidden, danger to which he would otherwise

be exposed.” “Think not slightly of this advertisement,” said the writer, “but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say *they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, yet they shall not see who hurts them.*”\* This letter came to hand while Lord Mounteagle was sitting at supper, and next morning he laid the mysterious paper before the Secretary of State (Cecil, Earl of Salisbury), who, having previously received obscure intimations of a Catholic plot, thought proper to communicate the circumstances to the Privy Council. No public measures, however, were adopted for further investigation until the King returned to London from Royston, where he had been taking the diversion of hunting.

James arrived in London on the 31st of October, and according to a once accredited report, he immediately divined the nature of the plot from the passage in the warning letter, which threatened the Parliament with destruction from the blow of an invisible enemy; but it is more probable that the fact was suggested to him by Lord Salisbury. It was determined forthwith, that “a very secret and exact search should be made in the Parliament House, and all other rooms and lodgings near adjoining.” Yet to prevent any needless alarm, as well as to avoid “giving suspicion unto the workers of this mischievous mystery,” it was thought advisable to postpone the investigation of the premises until the eve of the day on which the Parliament was to meet; and that it should then be made by the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Suffolk), whose duty it was to ascertain that the

\* See “Archæologia,” vol. xii. p. 200, for an engraved *fac-simile* of the above letter, which is now preserved in the Parliament Office, together with numerous other important documents relating to the discovery of the plot, and trials of the offenders. There is scarcely a doubt of the letter having been concerted by Tresham, but by whom written is unknown. Tresham died in the Tower.

requisite preparations had been made for the opening of the session. Towards evening on Monday, the 4th of November, the Chamberlain visited the Parliament House, accompanied by Lord Mounteagle, at his own request. They first went into the Parliament Chamber, and after remaining there some time, they proceeded to examine the vaults and cellars beneath, for the alleged purpose of recovering some old hangings that were said to be missing. Entering the cellar under the Peers' Chamber, they remarked the great store of faggots, billets, and coals, there collected together; and on inquiring of Wynnyard, the keeper of the wardrobe, who was in attendance, to what use he had put those lower rooms, he informed them that the cellar had been let to Thomas Percy, and that the fuel which they saw there was probably for that gentleman's winter consumption. Fawkes was in the cellar, and his appearance naturally attracted the attention of the Earl, who asked who he was, and was told, in reply, that he was "a servant of Percy's, and keeper of that place for him." The party then retired, without any further search, to report what had been observed to the King.

The conduct of the conspirators at this juncture strikingly exemplified the truth of the adage, "*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*" Fawkes, "though he saw and heard all that passed, was so fixed on his ruthless purpose that he resolved to remain to the last moment; and having acquainted Percy with the circumstance of the visit to the cellar, he returned to his post, with a determination to fire the mine on the first appearance of danger, and perish in the company of his enemies."

When the Lord Chamberlain had made his report to the Council, stating that the store of coals and wood which they had seen was beyond all proportion to the wants of a person who resided so little in the house as Percy did, and that the



man in the cellar looked like “a very tall and desperate fellow,” it was determined by the King, with the concurrence of several of the Privy Council, that the cellar should that night be more closely and carefully examined. For that purpose, they employed Sir Thomas Knevet, a magistrate of Westminster (a gentleman of the Privy Chamber), who was authorised to make a complete search of all the houses and cellars in the vicinity, under colour of looking for “certaine robes and other furniture of the Kinges, lately stolen out of the wardrobe.”

Shortly before midnight,\* or according to another account, about two in the morning,† of the 5th of November, the day for opening the session of Parliament, the magistrate, accompanied by a sufficient number of assistants, repaired secretly and suddenly to the house. As they reached the entrance Fawkes was stepping out from the door, having, as he afterwards admitted, just completed his preparations for firing the train; he was seized at once, dressed and booted as for a journey; and being searched, three matches were found in his pockets, with a tinder-box, a piece of touchwood, and a watch which Percy had bought the day before, “to try conclusions for the long or short burning of the touchwood, which he had prepared to give fier to the trayne of powder.” In a corner, behind the door, was a dark lanthorn containing a light. Meanwhile, search was made by removing the billets and coals, under which were discovered two hogsheads and thirty-two barrels of gunpowder. All this afforded ample evidence of the existence of a most nefarious and sanguinary plot against the Government, and of the privity and consequent guilt of the prisoner, Fawkes. It is no wonder, therefore, that on being interrogated, he

\* Jardine's “Criminal Trials,” vol. ii. p. 76.

† Lingard's “Hist.” vol. vi. p. 53.

avowed his purpose to "*have destroyed the King and Lords,*" if he had not been thus detected and prevented; but when he added that, if "he had been within the cellar when they met with him, he would instantly have fired the train," and thus involved himself with his captors in the common ruin, it shews that he was actuated by a species of daring fanaticism closely bordering on insanity.

By four o'clock in the morning some of the Council assembled in the King's bed-chamber, where Fawkes, being brought before them, displayed the most undaunted firmness, freely admitting his own share in the dark project, but refusing to give any clue to the discovery of his associates. He declared, that he only repented the deed was not done, and said that "God would have concealed it, but the devil was the discoverer." Repeated examinations, to which he was subjected in the course of the day, failed to extract from him the names of his accomplices. He was then committed to the Tower; and there can be no doubt but he was exposed to the *rack*, which wrung from him a full confession of the conspiracy. His testimony, however, could only confirm the guilt of his chief confederates, who, as soon as they heard of his apprehension, fled from London into Warwickshire, where they appeared openly in arms, and excited the people to rebellion. They were joined by Sir Everard Digby, and a few other persons only with whom they had previously consulted on measures for an insurrection. It was a part of their scheme, if the plot had succeeded, to have seized the young Princess Elizabeth (afterwards titular Queen of Bohemia), who was residing at the seat of Lord Harington, near Coventry, and to have established a government in her name. But they were now in no condition to prosecute their designs, and were obliged to consult their own safety. They mustered no more than fourscore, including servants; and

after hastily traversing Warwickshire and Worcestershire, followed by the Sheriffs of those counties, they resolved to make a stand at Holbeach, on the borders of Staffordshire, the residence of *Stephen Littleton*, one of their associates.

On the fourth morning after the discovery of the plot, while they were making preparations to resist the assault of the civil power, the accidental explosion of some damp powder which had been carelessly set before the fire to dry, disconcerted their measures. Catesby, and some of his principal confederates, were severely burnt, and in the confusion that ensued the majority of their followers seized the opportunity to effect their escape. Within an hour after, the house was surrounded, and Sir Richard Walsh summoned them to surrender; but they disdained to comply, determined to seek death at the hands of their pursuers rather than fall by the public executioner. With this view Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights, armed with their swords only, exposed themselves in the court, where Catesby was killed on the spot, and the others mortally wounded, by the fire of their opponents. Thomas Winter, John Grant, and Rookwood, who were also wounded, were then taken prisoners, with some other persons of meaner rank. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, and Stephen Littleton, who had quitted the party previously, as well as Robert Keyes, who had not joined the rest at Holbeach, were subsequently captured. Catesby and Percy, who might be looked upon as the chiefs of the conspiracy, having fallen in the assault, their heads were cut off, and set upon the ends of the Parliament House. Their associates, who had been taken alive, were conveyed to London, and committed to the Tower.

On the 27th of January, 1606, Sir Everard Digby, Thomas Winter, Robert Winter, Guido Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, were



conveyed in a boat upon the Thames from the Tower to Westminster Hall, to be tried before a special Commission. All of them, except Sir Everard Digby, were then indicted for high treason, and pleaded, *Not Guilty*. This plea was not designed by the culprits as an assertion of their innocence; but they were opposed to some of the allegations contained in the indictment, and on that score objected to it. The evidence against them was therefore proceeded with, and being found conclusive, the jury, of course, returned a verdict of Guilty. Sir Everard Digby was then put on his trial, before the same Commissioners, but on a separate indictment, to which he pleaded *Guilty*; contenting himself with making a faint attempt to extenuate his crime in an address to his judges. The Lord Chief Justice Popham, one of the Commissioners, pronounced the sentence of high treason on all the prisoners, and the court broke up.

On the 30th of the same month Digby, R. Winter, Grant, and Bates, underwent the punishment of traitors, accompanied with all its disgusting horrors, near the west end of St. Paul's Cathedral; and, on the day following, Guido Fawkes, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, and Robert Keyes, were in like manner drawn, hanged, and quartered in the Old Palace Yard, at Westminster. Their mangled bodies were afterwards exposed on the gates of the city, and their heads were set on poles upon London Bridge. The fortitude which they, in general, exhibited, and especially Fawkes, was worthy of a better cause. Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, was tried in March, and being condemned for misprision of treason, he was executed in St. Paul's churchyard on the 3rd of May. Several others suffered the due punishment of their guilt about the same time, in different parts of the country; but Father Greenway, another Jesuit, who had been implicated, escaped from his confinement and

reached the Continent in safety. A statute was afterwards passed by the Parliament, ordering that the ANNIVERSARY of the discovery should be kept in perpetual remembrance by a distinct service in all the Churches of the Establishment.

On the 4th of June, 1610, King James created his eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, in full Parliament, in "the Great White Chamber" of the Old Palace at Westminster. On this occasion the King made twenty-five Knights of the Bath, and the whole attendant proceedings were conducted with great magnificence. A "most rich and glorious *masque* of ladies" was exhibited at Whitehall; a splendid *tournament* was held in the Tilt-yard attached to that Palace; and "novell triumphs and pastimes, with a sea-fight and radiant fire-works," were displayed upon the river Thames, "over against the court."\*

In May, 1616, Carr, Earl of Somerset (the King's late favourite), and his infamous Countess, were separately tried in Westminster Hall, under a special commission directed to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, for the murder (by poison) of Sir Thomas Overbury. Though condemned to die, after successive reprieves and several years' imprisonment, the King eventually pardoned them. He refused, however, to extend the like mercy to the brave Sir Walter Raleigh; who, to the everlasting dishonour of the "royal pedant," was beheaded in Old Palace Yard, on the 29th of October 1618, for the presumed crime of high treason, of which he had been declared guilty, at Winchester, in 1603, on the unsupported testimony of the Lord Cobham.

\* For the patent of Prince Henry's creation, see "*Fœdera*," tom. vii. pars ii. p. 168. Henry died on the 6th of November, 1612. His younger brother, Charles, was not made Prince of Wales until four years afterwards, the patent of his creation (tested by the King at Westminster) bearing date on the 4th of November, 1616. *Ibid.* p. 216.

In October 1617, the King, by his own Ordinance under the Great Seal, appointed two "Reporters of the law," who, in accordance with "auncient custom," were to attend the *Courts at Westminster*, and compendiously, yet truly, report "the judgments and resolutions which there shall passe from time to time." The principal case was to be distinguished from the by-cases, and the point upon which any case was ruled, to be clearly stated.\*

King James, dying at Theobalds on the 27th of March, 1625, was buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel on the 7th of May. His successor, Charles the First, was crowned in the Abbey Church, on the 2nd of February 1626, with the accustomed ceremonies, by Archbishop Abbot; on which occasion the King was clothed in white satin. The

\* Vide "Fœdera," tom. vii. pars iii. p. 19. In the same volume, pars iii. p. 85, is a very curious Patent (tested by the King, at Westminster, July 17th, 1618), from which it may be reasonably inferred that attempts were then making to navigate by *Steam*, as well as to apply its agency to other useful purposes. We know that the Marquess of Worcester, in the following reign, was engaged in experiments on that element; and although in the record before us there is no direct allusion to its employment, yet, from the effects stated to be produced, we can hardly imagine that any other power could have successfully accomplished the objects mentioned in the Patent. By that instrument David Ramsey, one of the Pages of the Bedchamber, and Thomas Wildgosse, gent. were licensed for thirty-one years, to have the sole making and using of certain engines, devices, instruments, and inventions, by them "devised, found out, and brought to perfection," for ploughing grounds without horse or oxen, and to enrich and make them more fertile; to raise water for well-watering cities, towns, &c. at less charge than before; and to make boats for the carriage of burthens and passengers, *run upon the water as swift in calms, and more safe in storms, than boats full sailed in great winds*; "such engines, instruments, and devices not having heretofore been known," &c.—Could David Ramsey, the patentee, be any relation to his namesake, the "watchmaker and horologer to James I." whom Sir Walter Scott has introduced in that pleasant novel, "The Fortunes of Nigel?"



festivals in the Great Hall were conducted in the usual manner.\*

The dissensions between the Monarch and the Parliament, which had commenced in the late reign, in consequence of the arbitrary attempts made to subject the laws and liberties of the nation to the illimitable extension of the prerogatives of the crown, became in the time of King Charles the melancholy cause of a direful Civil war; and for a long series of years, the "*two Houses*," but especially the Commons, were occupied in the most important transactions in which it was possible for man to be engaged. For the details, however, of those proceedings, we must necessarily refer the reader to the Parliamentary Journals, and to the historians of the age, as our limits will not admit of any thing more than a general notice.

The spirited opposition to the despotic measures of Government, shewn by the first three Parliaments held at Westminster in the new reign, had occasioned them all to be dissolved, in anger, by the King; who, in April 1629, issued a Proclamation, declaring, "that he should call it presumption in any to prescribe to him the time for calling a Parliament."† After governing the state, however, full eleven years by his own authority (during which period almost every kind of arbitrary exaction had been inflicted on the people), the exigencies of the public service compelled him to have recourse to the measure he so greatly deprecated. Another Parliament was therefore assembled on the

\* A brief account of the solemnities of this Coronation is given in Rushworth's "*Historical Collections*," vol. i. pp. 199—201.

† Lord Clarendon states, that this announcement was "commonly understood to inhibit all men to speak of another Parliament;" and Weldon observes, that "it was said the king made a vow never to call any more." Vide "*Hist. Rebellion*," vol. i. p. 104, 8vo.; and "*Court of King Charles*," p. 194.

13th of April, 1640; but the Commons requiring, as a condition to the granting supplies, that the national grievances should be first redressed, the King again determined on a dissolution, which took place on the 5th of May. The emergencies of the times proving too powerful for all the sagacity that Charles and his councillors could exercise, writs were issued for a new Parliament, which accordingly met at Westminster, on the 3d of November in the same year. To that assembly, since known by the appellation of the *Long Parliament*, the nation is indebted for the determined stand which was then made against the encroachments of the crown, and which constitutes such a memorable epoch in the British annals.

Among its early proceedings was the impeachment of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, one of the chief ministers of the crown, for high treason. Clarendon says, "On Monday, the twenty-second of March (1640-1), he was brought to the bar of Westminster Hall, the Lords sitting in the middle of the Hall in their robes; and the Commoners, and some strangers of quality, with the Scottish Commissioners, and the Committee of Ireland, on either side; there being a close box made at one end, at a very convenient distance for hearing, in which the King and Queen sate untaken notice of; his Majesty, out of kindness and curiosity, desiring to hear all that could be alleged." \* The trial lasted until the 17th of April, when the Commons, being apprehensive that the Earl would escape through the influence of the King with the Peers, passed a Bill of attainder against Strafford, and sent it up to the Lords. This produced a conference between the two Houses, at which the King was present, and "he did pas-

\* "Hist. Rebellion," vol. i. p. 337; edit. 1807.

sionately desire of them," says Whitelocke, "not to proceed severely against the Earl."\* This interference proved useless; the bill was passed by the Lords, and on the 12th of May, the ill-fated Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill.†

The attempts to save the Earl had been accompanied with rumours of an intended dissolution of Parliament; to prevent this, a bill was brought into the Commons, and quickly hurried through both Houses, by which the King was prevented dissolving them without their own consent; and the royal assent was given to the bill by the same Commission that signed the attainder against Strafford. The Parliament immediately proceeded to assume the entire direction of the state. The obnoxious Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts were abolished; the patents for monopolies were abrogated; the bill for triennial Parliaments was passed; and divers other statutes were made for securing the rights and liberties of the people. New jealousies, however, soon arose, through the conduct of the ministers, and other causes; and the prevailing animosities were much aggravated by an intemperate '*Protestation*' which was presented by twelve Bishops to the Lords, and which the Commons described as containing "matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliament."

During those contentions, the King, on the 4th of January, 1642, made his ill-advised and rash attempt to seize the Lord Kimbolton, with five other members of the Commons' House, viz. Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Pym, Hampden, Holles, and Stroud; whom, by his Attorney-General, Sir Edward Herbert, he had accused, on the preceding day, of high treason. The King went to the House in person, "guarded,"

\* "Memorials," p. 43.

† After the Restoration the attainder against the Earl was reversed.



says Whitelocke, "with his pensioners, and followed by about two hundred courtiers, and *soldiers of fortune*, most of them armed with swords and pistols."\* Leaving his guard at the door, he entered the House, and seating himself in the Speaker's chair, he looked around, but not seeing any of the accused Members, he asked the Speaker "whether he saw any of them, and where they were?" The Speaker (Lenthall), with admirable presence of mind, dropping on his knee, answered, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here."† The King, being thus disappointed, quitted the House amidst the cry of "*Privilege! Privilege!*"

Affairs were now fast advancing to a crisis; and the King "on the evening of a stormy day" (August the 22d), set up his standard at Nottingham; and there, after it was "on the same night, blown down by a very strong and unruly wind," it was again raised—the unhallowed ensign of a direful civil war. The events which followed belong to general history: it must suffice here to say, that the regal power was overthrown; that Charles was made a prisoner; and that all the chief functions of the state were usurped by the same army which had achieved the triumph of the popular cause.

It having been determined, by the General Council of the army, to bring the King to trial, the Commons, on the 6th of January, 1649, passed an Ordinance for that purpose, a special provision being inserted, "in case the King should refuse to plead to the charge against him." On the 8th, the *High Court of Justice* assembled in the Painted Chamber; and all the preliminary arrangements having been completed, the Court proceeded, on the 20th, to Westminster Hall,

\* Whitelocke's "Memorials," p. 50.

† Idem.

which had been properly fitted up for the trial. The King, who had been removed from Windsor Castle to St. James's, and thence to Sir Robert Cotton's house (within the precincts of the old Palace, and adjacent to the House of Lords), was now placed at the bar; but on his refusing to acknowledge the legal jurisdiction of the Court during that and the two following days, the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, and proceeded to hear witnesses against him on the charge of "traitorously levying war against the People." On the 27th the Court resumed its sittings in the Great Hall, and the King being again brought up, he was sentenced to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body, as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy."\* Three days after (on January the 30th), this sentence was fully executed on a scaffold erected in the open space fronting the Banqueting-house at Whitehall; the King submitting to his fate with exemplary fortitude. †

Measures were now taken to settle the kingdom in a *Commonwealth*; the House of Peers was declared dangerous and useless, the Kingly office was abolished, and a Council of State, consisting of thirty-eight persons, was appointed to administer the laws. Still, however, the Long Parliament continued its sittings, until, at length, on the 20th of April, 1653, the Captain-General of the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell, by one of those daring acts which nothing but an imperious necessity can justify, dissolved it by military

\* Howell's "State Trials," vol. i. p. 1037.

† Much discussion had arisen, at various times, respecting the actual place of interment of this unfortunate sovereign; but eventually all doubts were removed, by the discovery of his remains in the vault of King Henry the Eighth, in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, under the middle of the choir. See "Essays and Orations," &c. by Sir Henry Hallford; in his annexed "Account of the opening the Coffin of King Charles the First," April 13th, 1813.

force.\* In the December following, Cromwell was sworn into the office of *Lord Protector*, in the Chancery Court, at Westminster; and (having been foiled in his subsequent endeavours to obtain the crown,) he was solemnly inaugurated under the above title, in Westminster Hall, on the 26th of June, 1657, with a magnificence nearly equal to a coronation.† After a disturbed government of about a year and three quarters, Cromwell died at Whitehall, on the 3rd of September, 1658; and was interred, with more than regal pomp, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster.‡

\* For a minute detail of this extraordinary act, see "Beauties of England," vol. vii. "Huntingdonshire," pp. 423\*—427\*. There is a fine print of Oliver Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament, engraved by Hall, from a painting by the late Benjamin West.

† On this occasion, upon an elevated platform, at the south end of the Hall, was placed for Cromwell, "under a prince-like canopy of state," the ancient Coronation chair, which had been brought for the purpose, from Westminster Abbey. Before it was a table "covered with pink-coloured velvet of Genoa, fringed with fringe of gold," and on it were the Bible, sword, and sceptre of the Commonwealth, with pens, ink, &c. At some distance, on each side, were seats built scaffold-wise, like a *theatrum*," for the Members of Parliament; whose Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, had a chair beside the table; "the Aldermen of London, and the like," had places below. The procession into the Hall commenced from the "Council-room adjoining to the Lords' House;" and his Highness, the Protector, was immediately preceded by the Lord Mayor (Tichborn,) of London, bearing the city sword. The ceremonies of the Installation, together with the oath taken by Cromwell, are given in "Prestwich's Respublica," pp. 3—23, 4to, 1787.

‡ The funeral obsequies of the Protector were not solemnized until the 23rd of November, but his remains had been privately interred on the previous 26th of September. His effigy, made of wood and covered with wax to resemble life, was for several weeks exposed to public view, lying on a bed of state, in Somerset House. Upwards of 60,000*l.* was expended in the solemnities of the funeral; a particular account of which is inserted in "Prestwich's Respublica," pp. 173—203. Although deposited in the mausoleum of royalty, Cromwell's ashes were not permitted to mingle with the dust of sovereigns; for after the Restoration, to the everlasting disgrace of all concerned, his mouldering corse



On the abdication of Richard Cromwell (who had succeeded his father in the Protectorate), a deep sense of the distractions which had so long and grievously afflicted the nation, excited a strong desire among many people for the restoration of monarchy; but a very large class was still opposed to it, unless accompanied by those concessions which would ensure the rights of the subject from future violation. At length, by the sinister intrigues of General Monck, and without obtaining those efficient guarantees for good government which the circumstances required, Prince Charles, the eldest son of the decapitated sovereign, was recalled from his forced expatriation; and, on the 8th of May, 1660, he was solemnly proclaimed King, at "*Westminster Hall gate*," by the title of Charles the Second; "the Lords and Commons standing bare by the Heralds, whilst the proclamation was made." The new King, making his public entry into London on the 29th of May, was received with extraordinary triumph; and on St. George's day (April the 23rd), in the following year, he was crowned at Westminster with great

was taken up, and being ignominiously dragged to Tyburn, was there exposed upon the gallows; together with the bodies of Ireton and Bradshaw, whose graves had also been sacrilegiously violated. The dire malignancy of those who could thus descend to glut their resentment upon the dead, was coloured by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament, passed on the 8th of December, 1660; which ordered, "That the carcases of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, whether buried in Westminster Abbey or elsewhere, be, with all expedition, taken up, and drawn upon a hurdle to Tyburn, and there hanged up in their coffins for some time; and after that buried under the said gallows." When the carcases of the Protector and his two friends had hung an entire day, they were taken down, and the heads having been cut off, were set upon poles on the south end of Westminster Hall, where that of Cromwell remained full twenty years; the trunks were thrown into a hole dug beneath the gallows. John Lewis, the mason who opened the vaults in the Abbey Church, and disinterred the bodies, received "fiveteen shillings" for his noxious labour. Pride's remains do not appear to have been found.

magnificence; the consequent festivities being, as customary, celebrated in the Great Hall. The eighth of May 1661, became noted from the meeting of Charles's "*Pensionary Parliament*," which, by its protracted duration (nearly eighteen years), was far more deserving of the appellation of the Long Parliament than that of the Commonwealth had been. Under an order of this Assembly, the "*Solemn League and Covenant*," which had been devised to strengthen the popular cause in 1643, was burnt by the common hangman, in Cheapside, on the 22d of May; and six days afterwards, the acts for the trial of King Charles the First, the abolishing of the House of Peers, the establishing a Commonwealth, the renunciation of the Stuarts, and the security of the Protector's person, were similarly destroyed in the middle of Westminster Hall, whilst the Courts were there sitting. This Parliament (by which many enactments had been made, essentially detrimental to popular freedom,) was dissolved by proclamation on the 25th of January, 1679, in consequence of its increasing opposition to the measures pursued by the King and his brother, the Duke of York, for re-introducing popery.

Charles the Second died at Whitehall, on the 6th of February, 1685, having previously received the sacrament of the mass and extreme unction. After embalmment, his body was privately conveyed, by water, to the "Prince's Lodgings," in the Old Palace, at Westminster, where it remained until the 14th, when it was carried through the House of Lords into the Painted Chamber; and thence, on the same night, into Henry the Seventh's Chapel, the place of its final interment.

James the Second, with Mary D'Este (his second consort), was crowned by Archbishop Sancroft, on St. George's day, 1685. Sandford states, that the ceremonies were performed with great solemnity; and that "a most sumptuous and magnificent dinner was provided for their Majesties and

“the royal cavalcade,” in Westminster Hall, against their return from the Abbey Church.\*

During the arbitrary attempts made by this monarch to reduce the country to an abject state of religious and political bondage, Westminster Hall became the scene of the memorable trial of the *Seven Bishops*, viz. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Turner, Bishop of Ely; Lake, Bishop of Chichester; Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells; White, Bishop of Peterborough; and Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol; who were indicted for a seditious libel, in consequence of having stated the cause, in a Petition to the King, of their refusal to promulgate, in their respective dioceses, the “Declaration for liberty of Conscience,” which had been issued by his command. The trial took place on the 29th of June, 1688: the Judges were not unanimous in their charge to the Jury; but the latter, after deliberating the whole night, pronounced the prelates, “Not Guilty!” The acclamations of the crowd at this decision were loud and incessant; and the whole metropolis reverberated the deafening shouts of applause which were raised by the multitude within and without the Hall.

The disaffection which James’s conduct had before excited was much increased by this prosecution, and within a few months afterwards the union against him became so strong, and the national cause, (aided by William, Prince of Orange, who, in November, 1677, had espoused the Princess Mary,

\* “Genealogical History,” p. 658, fol. 1707. A splendid work, describing all the ceremonies of the above Coronation, “illustrated with sculptures,” was also published by the same author, by command of King James, who had himself presided at the Council Board when the prior arrangements were made. The form and order then determined on, became the general precedent for succeeding Coronations. Sandford’s volume is intitled, “The History of the Coronation of King James II. and Queen Mary,” fol. 1687. Some of the plates are very curious.



the King's eldest daughter,) so triumphant, that the *Glorious Revolution* of 1688 was effected; and towards the end of December, in that year, the fear-struck sovereign abandoned his kingdom, never to return.

The consequent proceedings were of the utmost importance in setting the high and dignified example of a British legislature expelling a race of monarchs from the succession, for their daring infringements on the laws and liberties of the country. In the *Convention* Parliament, which assembled at Westminster on the 22nd of January, 1689, it was first resolved, that the abdication of James had rendered the throne *vacant*; and, eventually, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared "King and Queen" of the British dominions. Accordingly, on the 13th of February, after the Lords and Commons had presented to them a "Declaration," in the Banqueting House, at Whitehall, they were proclaimed with the accustomed ceremonies; and, on the 11th of April, solemnly crowned in the Abbey Church at Westminster, by the Bishop of London (Henry Compton), under the titles of William the Third and Mary the Second, "with all the circumstances of royalty; each part of that glorious ceremony being performed with extraordinary grandeur and magnificence."\*

In pursuance of the "Act of Settlement," the Princess Anne (second daughter to King James, and wife to Prince George of Denmark), succeeded to the throne on the decease of King William, in March, 1702; and she was crowned, in

\* Sandford's "Genealogical History," p. 687, edit. 1707. Queen Mary died of the small-pox on the 28th of February, 1695; and was buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the 5th of March, in the vault where Charles the Second had been deposited. King William survived until the 8th of March, 1702; and on the 12th of April ensuing, he was interred in the same vault with his late Queen. There, also, the remains of Queen Anne were subsequently deposited.

the Abbey Church, by Archbishop Tenison, on St. George's day, in that year. Most of the processional preparations (as in the three prior coronations) were made in the Old Palace; and the Painted Chamber, House of Peers, Court of Requests, Court of Wards, and Great Hall, are all mentioned by name in the account of the proceedings given in the "Genealogical History." At the dinner, Prince George, the Queen's consort, sat at her right hand, but under the same canopy. The champion on that occasion was Charles Dymocke, Esq.

Among the most memorable proceedings of Parliament in this reign, was the passing of the "Act of Union with Scotland;" the terms of which had been finally settled in the year 1706, by the English and Scotch Commissioners (thirty-two of each nation), in the Council Chamber at the *Cockpit*, Whitehall. By that measure, Scotland was authorised to return sixteen representative Peers to the House of Lords, and forty-five members to the House of Commons; thus increasing the total number of the latter to 513,—but its own Parliament was abolished for ever. In consequence of this augmentation, the interior of the Lower House was newly fitted up, under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, the Queen's Surveyor-General.\*

\* The following notice of the internal appearance of the House of Commons, almost immediately subsequent to the alterations made by Sir Christopher, occurs in Hatton's "New View of London," published in 1708. "The Commons' House is a little to the northward from the Lords', somewhat nearer the Hall; a commodious building, accommodated with several ranks of seats, covered with green [cloth, baize?] and matted under foot, for 513 gentlemen, of which number this honourable, learned, and judicious assembly consists,—the like in all these respects perhaps no where to be paralleled. On three sides of this House are beautiful wainscot galleries, sustained by cantelevers, enriched with fruit and other carved curiosities."

In the year 1710, the metropolis was greatly convulsed through the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel for preaching two Sermons which the House of Commons voted to be "malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels." He was brought to trial before the Peers in Westminster Hall on the 27th of February; and on the 23rd of March, after much altercation, was declared guilty by a majority of seventeen voices:—but his sentence, being merely that 'he should not preach for three years,' was celebrated by the people as a victory.

On the demise of Queen Anne, (August the 1st 1714,) George Lewis, Electoral Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, succeeded to the British Throne (in pursuance of the 'Act of Settlement') and on the 20th of October following, he was crowned with great magnificence at Westminster, by the title of George the First: no fewer than seventeen Archbishops and Bishops, and about one hundred and fifty Peers, were present on this occasion. In his reign, the ministry, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country consequent on the Scottish Rebellion of 1715, caused one of the strongest bulwarks of popular freedom which the wisdom of the nation had ever devised, to be destroyed, by abrogating the Act for Triennial Parliaments, and substituting that for Septennial ones; a measure which received the royal assent on the 7th of May 1716. About three months before this, the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Carnwath, with the Lords Widdrington, Kenmure, and Nairn, (who were impeached in the same Parliament which thus violated the constitution by passing the Septennial Act,) received sentence of death in the Court that had been erected for their trial in Westminster Hall; and soon afterwards (February the 24th) the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower Hill. Another memorable trial was commenced in the same place in June 1717, in presence of the



King himself, viz. that of Robert, Earl of Oxford; but a dispute between the Lords and the Commons, on the very first day, respecting the manner of procedure, led to the liberation of the Earl,—the Commons refusing to act under the dictation of the Peers.

The coronation of George the Second, together with that of his royal consort Caroline, was solemnized in the Abbey Church at Westminster on the 11th of October 1727; the principal officiating prelate was Archbishop Wake. The accompanying ceremonies, as well as the festivities in the Great Hall, were conducted on the same principles of religious formality, processional etiquette, and regal splendour as those which had distinguished preceding coronations.

An intention of erecting a new building for "The Reception of Parliament," (the old Houses "being in a very ruinous condition,") was entertained by government in the year 1739; and the architects at the Office of Works at Whitehall, (including the celebrated Kent,) were directed by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to prepare designs and estimates for that purpose. These directions were executed, and a very excellent series of designs was prepared, which received the approbation of the Lords Commissioners and Mr. Speaker Onslow; yet it does not appear that any subsequent measures were taken to accomplish the work: the estimated expense of the building amounted to £167,067\*.

\* The whole of the designs are now in the possession of L. N. Cottingham, Esq. whose successful renovations at Rochester and Oxford, and at Armagh in Ireland, have conferred such distinguished celebrity on his professional talents, and correct knowledge of our ancient architecture. He describes the arrangement of the plans as "truly admirable;" every convenience for such an august establishment being provided. Old Palace Yard was intended to be greatly enlarged; the new buildings to present a grand façade next the Thames, and the splendid Chapel of St. Stephen to be retained.

On July the 28th 1746, the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino, were brought to trial in Westminster Hall for high treason, in being engaged in the Scottish Rebellion of the preceding year: on the third day after, they were sentenced to die; and Kilmarnock and Balmerino were in consequence beheaded on Tower Hill on the 18th of August, but the Earl of Cromartie was pardoned. In March 1747, Simon Lord Lovat was also adjudged guilty in Westminster Hall of the same crime, he having been implicated with the former Lords; he was decapitated on Tower Hill on the 7th of the month following. Another trial of great interest took place in the Great Hall in April 1760, namely, that of Lawrence Earl Ferrers; who, after a trial of three days, was convicted of the murder of Mr. Johnson, his steward; and he was hanged at Tyburn, pursuant to his sentence, on the ensuing 5th of May.

George the Second died at Kensington on the 25th of October 1760; and his body, having been brought into the Prince's chamber in the Old Palace, was thence conveyed, in procession, to the place of its final deposition in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. His grandson and successor, George the Third, was crowned in the Abbey Church on the 22d of September 1761, together with his Queen, Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, to whom he had been married on the 8th instant. Both the nuptial ceremony, and that of the coronation, were solemnized by Archbishop Secker; and great magnificence was displayed on the latter occasion, as well in the Abbey Church as in the festive proceedings within the Great Hall\*.

\* For full particulars of the Coronation arrangements and ceremonies, see "Annual Register" for 1761, pp. 215-242. An amusing account of the same event is given in Lord Orford's "Works," vol. v. p. 83.—The internal appearance of the House of Commons about the time of the accession of the new King, has been

An affecting event occurred in the House of Lords on the 7th of April 1778, when the Great Earl of Chatham (who had come down to the House in a state of considerable debility from ill health), addressed the Peers in an energetic harangue against the measures in contemplation for granting independence to America. The Duke of Richmond opposed his arguments with some asperity in manner, though not in language; and the Earl, as if excited by indignation, attempting to rise to reply, fell back in a convulsive fit, and was carried into an adjoining chamber. Here medical assistance being obtained, he was so far recovered as to admit of removal to his villa at Hayes, in Kent, where he died on the 11th of May following. On the 7th and 8th of June, his remains lay in state in the Painted Chamber; and on the next day they were interred with much solemnity in the north aisle of the Abbey Church, where a most splendid monument was afterwards erected for him at the expense of his admiring country\*.

Associations for the reform of Parliament, and obtaining

thus described: "It is at present a spacious room, wainscotted up to the ceiling, accommodated with galleries, supported by slender iron pillars, adorned with Corinthian capitals and sconces. From the middle of the ceiling hangs a handsome branch or lustre. At the upper end, the Speaker is placed upon a raised seat, ornamented behind with Corinthian columns, and the King's arms carved and placed on a pediment. Before him is a table, at which the clerk and his assistants sit near him, on each hand, just below the chair; and on each side, as well below as in the galleries, the members are placed promiscuously. The Speaker and clerks always wear gowns in the House; but no other members wear robes, except the four representatives of the City of London, who, the first day of every new Parliament, are dressed in scarlet gowns, and sit all together on the right hand of the chair next the Speaker." Vide Entick's "London and its Environs described," vol. ii. p. 166.

\* A large and well-composed picture of the fall of the Earl in the House of Lords (including portraits of many noblemen then present) was painted by Mr. Copley, the father of the ex-chancellor Lord Lyndhurst.



“a more equal representation of the people in the House of Commons,” and rendering it independent of the aristocracy, began to be very general throughout the nation about the years 1779 and 1780; but, unfortunately, the efforts of the country were paralysed by the occurrence of the riots in London during the month of June in the latter year. The presenting of a Petition against the Catholics from the “Protestant Association,” as it was called; and at the head of which was Lord George Gordon, (younger brother of the Duke of Gordon) gave rise, on the 2d of June, to the congregation of an immense multitude of people, and all the avenues to both Houses of Parliament were entirely filled by the crowd. Many Peers (as well spiritual as temporal), and divers Members of the Commons, were insulted by the mob, and obliged, to escape personal injury, to place blue cockades in their hats, and join in the then popular cry of “No Popery.” The rabble attempted even to force open the doors of both Houses whilst the members were in debate, but they were happily foiled; and further outrage was prevented by the arrival of the Guards.

Great devastations were committed by the mob during that and the three following days on the Romish chapels and private dwellings of the Catholics; and on Tuesday, the 6th of June, which had been appointed for taking the Petition into consideration, every avenue to the Parliament Houses was again thronged by a riotous multitude, notwithstanding that all the military in London were on duty. Amidst these alarming appearances the House of Commons displayed both firmness and decision. On the principle that ‘no act of theirs could be legal whilst the House was under apprehensions from the daring spirit of the people,’ they Resolved “that to obstruct and insult the Members, whilst coming to or going from the House, and to

endeavour by force to compel them to declare themselves in favour of or against any proposition then depending, was a gross breach of the privileges of the House,"\*—and then adjourned. From that time until the Thursday following, the Metropolis was in a state of the utmost consternation. Newgate was set on fire, and its inmates liberated to join the mob; the other public prisons were partially destroyed, and the prisoners released. Many houses were *gutted*, as the phrase was, of all their contents, which were burnt in large fires in the streets; and divers others (including that of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square), together with the King's Bench and Fleet prisons, were set on fire and destroyed. Contributions, even in the day-time, were extorted from the fear-struck householders; uproar, confusion, and dismay reigned every where around, and on the Wednesday night six-and-thirty fires were to be seen blazing at one time in the Metropolis and Southwark. Orders were now issued, by the authority of the King in Council, that the "utmost force of the military should be exerted to repress the proceedings of the rioters;"† and these directions were so effectually obeyed, that the disturbances were entirely quelled on the Thursday evening. Between three and four hundred persons were either killed, or mortally wounded, by the troops; and about fifty others suffered by the hands of the common executioner. Lord George Gordon, who was accused as the author of the riots, and committed to the Tower, was arraigned of High treason in the Court of King's Bench on the 5th of February 1781; but the Jury acquitted him on the ground that his conduct had not been such as to warrant the charge.

\* Vide "Journals of the House of Commons," vol. xxxvii. p. 902.

† Idem, p. 904.

On the 12th of February 1788, the long-protracted trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., who had been impeached by the House of Commons for high crimes and misdemeanours, alleged to have been committed by him whilst Governor-General of India, was commenced in a Court erected for the purpose in Westminster Hall. After a trial of seven years and two months' duration, (a circumstance unparalleled in the annals of judicature) he was declared 'Not Guilty' on the 23d of April 1795.

During the revolutionary war with republican France, which commenced in February 1794, and was terminated by the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802; and that against the power of Bonaparte, which was declared in May 1803; many momentous transactions occurred in the British Parliament: but as the sources of information on these measures are so easily accessible, it is unnecessary for us particularly to advert to them. We must except, however, that great measure, the UNION with *Ireland*; which, although carried in the Sister State by the grossest corruption and bribery, was fraught with the most beneficial consequences to both countries, as the course of public events is now rapidly developing.

By this important Act, (which had been agreed to in the respective Parliaments of England and Ireland, in the summer of 1800; and which, having received the royal assent on the 22d of July in that year, came into full operation on the 1st of January 1801,) one hundred representatives from Ireland were admitted into the English House of Commons (thus increasing its Members to 613), and twenty-eight representative Irish Peers (exclusive of four Bishops), into the House of Lords. It was declared, that in future the denomination of Parliament should be "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and



that the style and titles of the Sovereign, when expressed in Latin, should thenceforth be as follows: "GEORGIUS TERTIUS, Dei Gratiâ Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor."

In consequence of the intended augmentation of its Members, it became necessary to enlarge the interior of the House of Commons, for the greater convenience of the assembly; and the execution of the work was intrusted to the late James Wyatt, Esq. architect, who had been appointed "Surveyor or Comptroller of his Majesty's Office of Works" on the 16th of March 1796, with an annual salary of £500.\* The operations were commenced in August 1800; and on the removal of the wainscot panelling, which is supposed to have been put up by Sir Christopher Wren, about the period of the Union with Scotland, in Queen Anne's reign, those unexpected discoveries were made of the original and splendid decorations of St. Stephen's Chapel, which excited such great admiration at the time, and gave origin to Mr. Smith's interesting work on the "Antiquities of Westminster."—As additional accommodation also was required for the Peers, it was arranged that the then House of Lords (which occupied the site of the present Royal Gallery) should be abandoned, and a new House constructed within the old *Court of Requests* (or the *White-Hall*, as it had been previously termed), which was far more capacious than the former chamber, as well as more convenient, from being nearly adjacent to the House of Commons. The new work was executed under Mr. Wyatt's direction; and the Lords continued to

\* By an Act passed in 1782, the principal officers of the then 'Board of Works' were suppressed, and a new 'Office of Works' constituted on the 10th of October in that year. The first Surveyor or Comptroller on that establishment was Sir William Chambers, with an annual salary of £500, and £10 for stationery. Vide "Report from the Commissioners on the Office of Works," 1813.

hold their sittings in the building so fitted up, until the late conflagration.

A most extraordinary assassination was committed in the *Lobby* of the House of Commons on the 11th of May 1811; when the Right Hon. Spencer Percival, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, was shot by a person named John Bellingham. This unfortunate criminal had resided in Russia, as a merchant, where his prospects were blighted by false accusations and a long imprisonment for which he could obtain no redress; a circumstance which he mainly attributed to the neglect of Lord Levison Gower, the English Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg. On returning home, he appealed to various officers of government for compensation, but without success; and under the bitter feelings of disappointment, he encouraged the delusive conviction that he had a right to revenge his injuries on the person of Lord Gower, or of some other of the ministers by whom his memorials had been disregarded. With this view, about four o'clock on the above afternoon, he placed himself in the recess of the doorway within the lobby; and on the entrance of Mr. Percival, a few minutes afterwards, he discharged a small pistol at that gentleman, who, after uttering a faint exclamation, staggered forwards a few paces, and fell. Being immediately carried into the room of the Speaker's Secretary, it was found that the wound, which had taken place in the lower part of the left breast, was mortal, and his life became extinct in about ten or twelve minutes afterwards. Great alarm was excited in both houses by this event, which was at first thought to be the out-break of a treasonable conspiracy, the nation having been for some time extremely discontented at the proceedings of government. On the same night, Bellingham was conveyed to Newgate; on the Friday following, he was tried

and convicted for the murder at the Old Bailey, (the sessions being then in progress); and on the ensuing Monday, he was hanged before the prison door, pursuant to his sentence.—Mr. Percival was buried at Charlton, in Kent; but a fine monument of white marble by R. Westmacott, Esq. R.A. has been erected to his memory in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey church.

On account of the long-continued and hopeless insanity of the King, it was determined by Parliament that a Regent should be appointed in the person of his eldest son, George, Prince of Wales, who accordingly entered into his high office on the 25th of October 1810. After the decease of his father, on the 29th of January 1820, the Prince Regent succeeded to the throne, but his coronation was delayed a considerable time by the events connected with the arrival from Italy of his consort, Caroline of Brunswick, from whom he had lived separate many years, but who had recently returned to England for the purpose of claiming her rights as Queen. Shortly after her arrival, proceedings were instituted against her in the House of Lords, for an alleged adulterous intercourse with an Italian, named Bergami (her chamberlain), whilst resident abroad; and on the 5th of July a “Bill of Pains and Penalties” was presented against her Majesty by the Ministers, for the purpose of dissolving her marriage with the King, and depriving her of all prerogatives and privileges as Queen Consort. During the investigation (or trial) which ensued, and which commenced on the 17th of August, her Majesty, who protested her innocence in the strongest terms, was frequently present; and on every occasion, when going down to the House, was loudly cheered by the assembled multitude which thronged the streets and gave credit to her asseverations. At length,



on the 10th of November, this unparalleled proceeding was terminated by the postponement of the Bill "for six months," which was tantamount to its rejection; the third reading having been carried only by a majority of nine (the votes being 108 to 99) that being the exact number of the ministers of the crown who conducted the investigation.

It had been originally settled that the coronation of George the Fourth should be solemnized on the first of August 1820, and a Court of Claims was appointed to assemble in the Painted Chamber on the preceding 18th of May, it being the royal intention that the proceedings should be conducted with unusual magnificence.\* Whilst the Court was yet sitting, the proceedings against the Queen, as before stated, occasioned the coronation to be postponed, and it did not take place until the 19th of July 1821. The arrangements, both in the Great Hall and in the Abbey Church, were on a scale of unprecedented grandeur. Before the day arrived, however, for the performance of the ceremony, a memorial was presented to his 'Majesty in Council' from the Queen Consort, claiming her *right* to be crowned, and praying that the ceremony might be celebrated on the day appointed for his Majesty's coronation. After hearing counsel both for and against this claim, during several days, the Privy Council decided "that the Queens Consort of this realm are not entitled *of right* to be crowned at any time,"

\* The claims made to particular services, generally speaking, were such as were customary, and were therefore allowed; but some few of a novel description, which seem to have been advanced for experiment sake, were dismissed. Among the claimants was the Rev. Thomas Dymoke, the lord of the manor of Scrivelsby, who, being in orders, was incapacitated to perform the office of Champion; and he, in consequence, petitioned that his son, a minor, but who had recently entered into his twentieth year, might become his deputy; this request, after some consideration, and with his Majesty's assent, was eventually allowed.

and therefore that her Majesty was not entitled to the privilege specified in her memorial.\*

On the night previous to the coronation, the King reposed on a couch in the tapestry-room of the Speaker's official residence in the Old Palace; and on the following morning, about eleven o'clock, the royal cavalcade proceeded by a raised platform (covered by an awning) from Westminster Hall to the Abbey Church (which presented a most splendid and gorgeous scene), where the King was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, (C. M. Sutton) with the accustomed ceremonies. The ensuing festivities in the Great Hall were of the most costly description; and the manner in which the building was fitted up for the reception and entertainment of the vast multitude assembled there, was unprecedented for its convenience and extent. At the south end immediately under the great window was his Majesty's throne and table, upon a raised platform of three grades. Double galleries for spectators were raised along the sides of the Hall, below which, in the area, were long ranges of dining tables; and at the north entrance was a triumphal arch. The Champion was attended by the Duke of Wellington, as High Constable of England, and the Marquis of Anglesea, as Lord High Steward; both those noblemen were mounted upon their own chargers. The expense to the country of this Coronation, was about £150,000.†

\* Some attempts were afterwards made by the Queen to secure a recognised seat in the Abbey Church, in order to be *present* at the Coronation, but she was disappointed in all; and unhappily, on her last effort to obtain admission by demanding entrance as *Queen* (at the door-way in Poet's Corner) being frustrated by general orders given to a common door-keeper, the disappointment had a fatal influence on her health; which had already suffered from the peculiar measures adopted against her. She died on the following 7th of August.

† As our limits will not admit of any additional particulars of this august ceremonial, we must refer our readers for other details to Huish's "*History of the Coronation of George the Fourth*;" and to Whitaker's splendid work on

Under the auspices of the new King, during the years 1822-26, some very considerable and enriched additions were made to the parliamentary buildings on the south and south-west sides, from the designs of Mr. (now Sir John) Soane, who also superintended the work. These were principally in the Grecian style of architecture, and consisted of a new royal entrance to the House of Lords, the '*Scala Regia*,' or King's Staircase, the Royal Gallery, the Lords' Library, and various committee rooms, offices, &c. for the use of Parliament. During the progress of the new work, the Old Prince's Chamber, or Robing Room, the Old House of Lords, and some other remains of the ancient Palace, were pulled down.\*

Very different, in regard to splendour and festivity, was the Coronation of his present Majesty, William the Fourth, from that of his brother and predecessor, whom he succeeded on the throne on the 26th of June 1830; it was, however, the more gratifying to the nation, as it proved the desire of the King to avoid superfluous expenditure. On this occasion, September the 8th 1831, his Majesty and his consort Adelaide proceeded in carriages, attended by a grand cavalcade of the chief officers of state, nobility, &c. from St. James's Palace to the Abbey Church at Westminster, where they were both crowned, with the usual solemnities, by the Archbishop of Canterbury (William

the same gorgeous ceremony. A jocular, yet not uninteresting account of this coronation, has been given also by Galt, in his "Steam Boat."

\* Some account of the new buildings, illustrated with prints, was published by Sir J. Soane, in his "Designs for Public and Private Buildings," 1828. The new entrance and *Scala Regia* is said to have originated with his late Majesty, whose taste for shewy and expensive architectural works, led him to consider the old entrance to the House of Lords as mean and insignificant, altogether unworthy of forming the passage for a British monarch to his official station at the head of a national legislature.



Howley). On this occasion the banquetting and the accustomed challenge in the Great Hall were entirely dispensed with, the general proceedings having been arranged on a scale of great economy.\*

During the summer of 1832, after a political contest of unexampled duration in Parliament, the friends of Constitutional liberty achieved the most important victory over the illegal influence of the Oligarchy that had ever been obtained, by the passing of the three Acts for “the Amendment of the Representation of the People of England and Wales,” “Scotland,” and “Ireland;” to which the royal assent was given respectively on the 7th of June, the 17th of July, and the 7th of August. These invaluable measures of Reform were accomplished under the administration of Earl Grey, to whom, next to the KING *himself*, (whose decisive conduct, in dissolving the Parliament of 1831, at a most critical period, merits the lasting gratitude of the nation;) and to his patriotic coadjutors, the country is indebted for its preservation from the threatening dangers of a civil war. By the above Acts, the rights of election was placed on a more extended basis than before; many “rotten boroughs” were remorselessly swept away, and others “shorn” of their dishonourable beams; the privilege of a Parliamentary representation was conferred on many new places in proportion to the extent of their population and property; and many other changes were made, tending to improve the character and independence of the House of Commons, and to free it from all exterior influence but that of the PEOPLE, from whom it immediately emanates.

\* For a particular account of this Coronation (chiefly extracted from the “Observer” newspaper) see “Gentleman’s Magazine,” part ii. 1831. In the same volume is also a circumstantial account of the coronation of Richard the Second, from a MS. in the British Museum.

The first Parliament of the United Kingdom that was summoned after the passing of the Reform Acts, assembled at Westminster on the 29th of January 1833;\* and during the Session, which continued until the 29th of August, many important statutes were enacted, particularly those for the, "Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies," the "better Government of the East Indies," the "Regulation of the Trade to China and India," and the "Renewal of the Bank Charter." The chief measures of the following session, which commenced on the 4th of February 1834, and was prorogued on the 15th of August, were the Acts "for Establishing a New Criminal Court in the Metropolis and its Environs," the "Amendment of the Poor Laws," and the "Alteration and Amendment of the Laws relating to the Church Temporalities of Ireland."

We have now approached the time when both Houses of Parliament (except the bare walls) together with many adjacent offices, were wholly destroyed by an accidental fire, which broke out in the House of Lords, near Black Rod's box, on the evening of the 16th of October 1834. The wind blew briskly from the south-west, but became more

\* At the present time, and through the enactments of the Reform Acts, the *House of Commons* consists of 658 members, who are returned as follows:

English County Members	143	} 471	Scotch County Members	30	} 53
—— Universities	4		—— Cities and Boroughs	23	
—— Cities and Boroughs	324		Irish County Members	64	} 105
Welsh County Members	15	} 29	—— University	2	
—— Cities and Boroughs	14		—— Cities and Boroughs	39	

The House of Lords consisted in 1835, of 427 Peers, viz.

Princes of the blood royal (all Dukes)	3	Barons	- - - -	184
Other Dukes	21	Peers of Scotland	- - -	16
Marquesses	19	Peers of Ireland	- - -	28
Earls	109	English and Welsh Bishops	-	26
Viscounts	17	Irish Bishops	- - -	4

southerly as the night advanced ; the moon was near the full and shone with radiance ; but occasionally vast masses of cumulus clouds floated high and bright across the skies, and as the fitful glare of the flames increased, were illumined in a remarkably impressive manner, which gave great interest to the busy scene that was passing below.

From an examination of several days' continuance, which took place before the Lords of the Privy Council shortly after this event, it appears that the fire was first discovered by the wife of a door-keeper named Mullencamp, who, seeing the glittering of a light under one of the doors, suspected the cause, and immediately communicated it to Mrs. Wright, the deputy house-keeper, by the exclamation, " Oh, good God, the House of Lords is on fire ! " This was at six o'clock ; but, although several persons employed about the building were quickly drawn together by this alarm, and from a chimney being observed to be " very much on fire," by Mr. Richard Weobley, Clerk of the Works in the Department of Woods and Forests, no effectual resistance could be opposed to the progress of the flames for a considerable time, in consequence of the rapidity with which they spread through the numerous passages, lobbies, staircases, &c. which had been constructed at various periods, for the convenience of a ready communication between the two Houses, and their appertaining Committee Rooms and Offices.\*

\* The insecure manner in which these multifarious adjuncts were constructed and fitted up, had been thus adverted to, in 1828, by Sir John Soane in his " Designs for Public Buildings " (already cited), and the passage is remarkable from supplying a kind of prophetic intimation as to the actual consequence in case of fire.—" In the year 1800, the Court of Requests was made into a House of Lords ; and the old buildings of a slight character, several stories in height, surrounding that substantial structure, were converted into accommodations for



The conflagration was heightened by the strength of the wind; and in a few hours, notwithstanding all the aid which could be furnished by fire-engines and firemen, by working parties of soldiers and labourers, and by the assistance of the police, as well as from the voluntary services of many other persons, including both noblemen and gentlemen (Members of Parliament), the Houses of the Lords and Commons and the Painted Chamber were consumed to the bare walls; whilst the more fragile buildings immediately surrounding them were altogether destroyed.\* That part of the official residence of the Speaker of the House of Commons, which was connected with St. Stephen's Chapel, with some portion of the cloisters, was also considerably damaged; but happily, the magnificent Great Hall was preserved from

the officers of the House of Lords, and for the necessary communications. The exterior of these old buildings, forming the front of the House of Lords, as well as the interior, is constructed chiefly with timber covered with plaster. In such an extensive assemblage of combustible materials, should a fire happen, what would become of the Painted Chamber, the House of Commons, and Westminster Hall? Where would the progress of the fire be arrested? The want of security from fire, the narrow, gloomy, and unhealthy passages, and the insufficiency of the accommodations in this building, are important objects which call loudly for revision and speedy amendment."

\* By referring to the *Ground Plan*, plate II. a correct idea may be formed of the extent of the fire, a dotted line having been carried round the area of the buildings which were either wholly or partially destroyed. The great mass of buildings erected by Mr. Soane, and which may be described as forming the southern side of the Parliamentary edifices, were, comparatively, but little injured; the direction of the wind having been favourable to their safety. To the same cause we may attribute the preservation of the Law Courts and Augmentation Office on the western side of the Great Hall, and even of the Hall itself; for, had the immense volumes of flame and flakes of fire which proceeded from the interior of the two Houses, been wafted towards the vast timber roof of that immense pile, it must have been inevitably destroyed, with every building immediately connected with it.

the flames uninjured, although fearful apprehensions had been entertained for its safety during a considerable part of the night.

An immense multitude of spectators assembled at Westminster to witness the ravages of the fire, the lurid glare of which was distinctly visible for many miles around the metropolis. Even the river Thames, in the vicinity of the spot, was covered with boats and barges full of persons whom curiosity had attracted to the scene; and the reflections of the wavering flames upon the water, on the neighbouring shores, and on the many thousands thus congregated, composed a spectacle most strikingly picturesque and impressive. In Old Palace Yard the progress of the fire exhibited a *Tableau Vivant* of not inferior interest. There, and in the adjacent avenues, the three regiments of guards, and some troops of horse were on duty, as well as strong bodies of the police, yet the united authority of all these could hardly restrain the unthinking crowd from rushing into the immediate vicinity of the fire, and thus impeding the exertions of those who were eagerly striving to arrest its progress. Whilst the range of building fronting the House of Lords was burning, the strong glittering of the flames on Henry the Seventh's Chapel and the Abbey Church, on the adjacent buildings, and on the working parties, fire-engines, and soldiers in the open space below, formed a scene of great animation and beauty; nor could any consideration as to its melancholy cause, detract from the interest thus excited. It was not until between two and three o'clock on the following morning, that the fire was sufficiently subdued to remove apprehensions of further danger.

On the ensuing day, the following Report was made from the Office of Woods as to the extent of the injury arising from this disaster :

“ *House of Peers.* The House, Robing-rooms, Committee-rooms in the west front, and the rooms of the resident officers, as far as the octagon tower at the south end of the building, totally destroyed.

“ The *Painted Chamber*, totally destroyed.

“ The north end of the *Royal Gallery*, abutting on the Painted Chamber, destroyed from the door leading into the Painted Chamber, as far as the first compartment of columns.

“ The *Library* and the adjoining rooms, which are now undergoing alterations, as well as the Parliament offices, and the offices of the Lord Great Chamberlain, together with the Committee-rooms, Housekeeper’s apartments, &c. in this part of the building, are saved.

“ *House of Commons.* The House, Libraries, Committee-rooms, Housekeeper’s apartments, &c. are totally destroyed (excepting the Committee rooms, Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14, which are capable of being repaired).

“ The *Official residence* of Mr. Ley, Clerk of the House; this building is totally destroyed.

“ The *Official residence* of the Speaker.—The State Dining-room, under the House of Commons, is much damaged, but capable of restoration.—All the rooms from the Oriel window to the south side of the House of Commons, are destroyed.—The Levee-rooms, and other parts of the building, together with the public galleries, and part of the cloisters, very much damaged.

“ The *Courts of Law.* These buildings will require some restoration. The furniture generally of these buildings has sustained considerable damage.\*

\* During the fire, much furniture and other property, together with numerous records, books, &c. from the Augmentation and other Offices, was removed into St. Margaret’s Church, on the opposite side of the street. Many



“ *Westminster Hall*. No damage has been done to this building.

“ *Furniture*. The furniture, fixtures, and fittings to both the Houses of Lords and Commons, with the Committee-rooms belonging thereto, are with few exceptions destroyed.

“ The strictest inquiry is in progress as to the cause of this calamity; but there is not the slightest reason to suppose that it has arisen from any other than accidental causes.

“ Office of Woods, 17th October 1834.”

In the course of the lengthened inquiry which took place before the Privy Council, no positive evidence transpired which could by any means justify the presumption that the fire was owing to criminal design; although, in the first instance, many vague suspicions were entertained that it had been caused by political incendiaries.\* But abundant proof was obtained of gross carelessness and inattention on the part of some of the labourers employed by the Board of Works, to which the unfortunate accident may with the utmost probability be ascribed. It appears that orders had

records were hastily thrown from the windows, and, in consequence, considerable loss and damage occurred; but generally speaking, the destruction of records and other valuable state papers, was much less than might have been apprehended.

\* Among the strange and improbable stories circulated in support of such a notion, was that of Mr. Cooper, a London tradesman engaged in the iron trade, who having gone down to Dudley in Worcestershire, on the day in the evening of which the fire happened, had heard, as he alleged, a report of the circumstance at Dudley (119 miles from London) about three hours after the fire broke out. But from an examination of that gentleman and several other persons before the Privy Council, the most probable conclusion that can be drawn is, that he laboured under some strange misconception with respect to the time when the news in question first reached Dudley; and that it was not actually known in that town until the Friday morning, when the intelligence was communicated by means of an entry on the way-bill of a mail-coach.

been issued, by the proper authorities, for destroying a quantity of wooden *tallies* \* belonging to the Exchequer, in consequence of which the Clerk of the Works (Mr. Weobley) directed two men to burn a parcel of those dry sticks, amounting to about two cart-loads, in the furnaces, or stoves, connected with the flues which passed beneath the flooring, and gave warmth to the House of Lords. These men commenced their work at half past six o'clock on Thursday morning, and continued it until nearly five o'clock in the afternoon, when, having consumed the quantity of wood stated above, they quitted the premises. Notwithstanding the allegations of these persons relative to the precautions they took to avoid danger, there cannot be a doubt but that they fed the stoves with the dry tallies in too rapid a manner, and so as to make the iron pipes and flues red hot. By this imprudence the interior of the House, which from the previous heating must have been rendered as combustible as touchwood, became rapidly ignited as soon as the fire had once penetrated through the floor. The most gross negligence was also displayed by the deputy-housekeeper (as may

\* These *Tallies* were notched sticks, used until the month of October 1826, in keeping the public accounts of the Treasury. Formerly, when money was paid into the Exchequer, and until the old method was abolished by Act of Parliament in the above year, it was the practice to mark the sum on one side of a hazel or ashen wand, by cutting notches in it; which, according to their size, direction, &c. were understood to denote so many thousands, hundreds, or single pounds, and smaller indentations denoted shillings and pence. When one side of the square tally had been thus marked it was split or divided longitudinally by the proper officer, so that both divisions retained precisely the same number and kind of notches: one portion was called the *foil*, and the other, the *counterfoil*, the two together constituting a *tally*; though that term seems also to have been applied to either part separately. The last persons who were Tellers ('*Talliers*') of the Exchequer, were Lord Guildford and Mr. Burgoyne, who surrendered their patent under the provisions of the Act alluded to, of the year 1826.

be inferred from the examination before the Lords of the Council), in not acquainting the official authorities with the alarming manner in which the heat and fumes had pervaded the House during the whole day, and particularly when the thermometer kept there was noticed to be as high as sixty degrees.\*

\* Vide "Report of the Lords of the Council respecting the Destruction by Fire of the Houses of Parliament."—At about half past four o'clock, an almost suffocating heat near Black Rod's box, where the flues came up, was noticed by two gentlemen who went to see the House of Lords, attended by Mrs. Wright; and one of them gave evidence, that he felt the heat through his boots; and that the smoke was so great he could neither see the throne from the bar, nor distinguish above a foot square of the tapestry, even when near to it. *Idem.* pp. 42, 43.





*Wm. Capon, del.*

*N. Whittock, sc.*

ANCIENT CAPITAL.

## CHAPTER V.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT PALACE, AND ITS APPENDANT BUILDINGS; INCLUDING ST. EDWARD'S, OR THE PAINTED CHAMBER; ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL AND ITS CLOISTERS; THE LATE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT; THE GREAT HALL; THE STAR CHAMBER, &c. &c. TOGETHER WITH ANNEXED EXPLANATORY REFERENCES TO THE ILLUSTRATIVE ENGRAVINGS.

**T**HE Anglo-Saxon origin of the ancient Palace of Westminster has been established by the facts recorded in the first Chapter of this Work; and distinct notices also have

been given of the annexation of many new buildings to the original Palace by different monarchs, from the time of St. Edward the Confessor to that of King Richard the Second. From the lapse of ages, the devastations of fire, and still more, perhaps, from the numerous alterations made in succeeding reigns, to adapt those erections to the various purposes of religion, business, and festivity, the style and character of the original architecture has in most instances been defaced by subsequent works; and it has become very difficult to recognise the extent and primary features of the earlier buildings.

An ample plot of ground was included in the immediate demesne of the Old Palace; this may be described as bounded on the east by the river Thames, on the north by the Woolstaple, now Bridge Street, on the west by the precincts of St. Margaret's Church and those of Westminster Abbey, behind Abingdon Street, and on the south by the line of the present College Street, where, in former times there ran a small stream, afterwards called the Great Ditch (now a sewer), on the outer side of the exterior wall of the Palace garden. Within this space there were anciently either two or three divisions, having distinct gateways and entrances. What appears to have been called, in old records, sometimes the *Private Palace*, and at others the *Lesser Palace* of the King, stood on the western side of the inclosed demesne, between the present Abingdon Street and the wall of the College Garden, but which, in Edward the Third's reign, formed the garden of the Abbey Infirmary.\* It was proba-

\* Widmore states ("Hist. of Westminster Abbey," p. 231), from the '*Niger Quaternus*,' preserved among the archives of the Dean and Chapter at Westminster, that Edward the Third, in the 51st year of his reign, gave licence to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster to purchase lands, &c. to the yearly value of forty pounds, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain, "in consi-

bly the destruction of the buildings of that *Lesser Palace* by fire, which occasioned the removal of Henry the Eighth to Whitehall, as stated in the preceding chapter: of what description they were, or by whom erected, no particulars have been obtained.

Not any doubt can be entertained but that all the State Offices of the Old Palace, the Festive Halls, the Royal Chapel, and indeed all the principal apartments of our Sovereigns, were congregated on the eastern side of the Palace demesne, on the spot where we find so many and such important remains; \* and which apparently is still destined to become the site of a *Parliamentary Edifice* of a far superior architectural character to any that has ever yet been erected there.

Reverting to the more ancient buildings, we may state that ST. EDWARD'S, or the PAINTED CHAMBER, was one of the apartments of the Old Palace which owed its origin to the pious Prince whose name it has borne for centuries; but which, after it had been enlarged and newly adorned by Henry the Third, occasionally assumed another appellation, derived from the quality and profuseness of its embellishments. Before the late fire, this apartment had two floors (one of which was tessellated and the other boarded) supported on vast joists of chesnut timber, which were propped up by middle walls, purposely erected to sustain them. Its

deration of a great part of a certain Tower in the corner of the Private Palace towards the south,"—*et hæc licentia concessa est pro magna parte cujusdam Turris in angulo Palatii Privati versus austrum.*—This Tower is yet standing, and is now called the *Parliament Office*, from its appropriation to the keeping of State Records. It is of a square form, with an octagonal staircase turret annexed; and is probably of the age of William Rufus. After it came into the possession of King Edward III., it was designated The *Jewel House*; in Henry the Eighth's reign it was used as a Royal Wardrobe. See MS. Bibl. Harl. No. 1419.

\* Vide "Ground Plan," Plate II.



length was eighty feet six inches, its width twenty-six feet, and its height from the upper floor thirty-one feet; the ceiling, which was curiously designed, was of Henry the Third's time, and embellished with gilded and painted tracery, including small wainscot pateræ variously ornamented. Among the paintings on the walls and window jambs, and which had been entirely forgotten until the removal of some old tapestry in 1800, were representations of the battles of the Maccabees; the Seven Brethren; St. John, habited as a Pilgrim, presenting a ring to King Edward the Confessor; the canonization of King Edward, with seraphim, &c.; and numerous black-letter inscriptions, chiefly of texts from Scripture.\*

\* These paintings are noticed in the Manuscript Itinerary of Simon Simeon, and Hugo the Illuminator, in the year 1322; which is now preserved in the Library of Bene't College, Cambridge. Those persons were Franciscan friars, who came from Ireland, and journeyed through London on their way to Jerusalem. After slightly noticing the Monastery at Westminster, they say, with some exaggeration (in Latin)—‘and to the same monastery is almost immediately joined that most famous Palace of the King, in which is that well-known Chamber, on whose walls all the Histories of the Wars of the whole Bible are painted beyond description,—*ineffabiliter depictæ*—with most complete and perfect inscriptions in French, to the admiration of the beholders, and with the greatest regal magnificence.’—Engraved representations of some particular remains of these embellishments (the drawings for which were exhibited in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries, in the beginning of 1835), coloured, &c. like the originals, will shortly be published.

Among the records in the office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, is a Roll of the 20th year of Edward the First (anno 1292) headed, “*p'ma op'ac'o picture*,” or first work of Painting, which contains an account of the disbursements made by Master Walter, the Painter, for the emendation of the pictures in the King's *Great Chamber*, as the *Painted Chamber* was then called. White lead at 2*d.* per lb. is mentioned; three quarts of oil at 9*d.*; a measure of green ‘*viridi*,’ (verdegris) at 1½*d.*; another of vermilion at 2½*d.*; sinople 2½*d.*; varnish, 1 lb. at 4*d.*; ochre, plaster, thread, and skin 2*d.*; and tools 3½*d.*; the total expense for materials was 3*s.*—The wages of Master

Formerly, the walls of this Chamber, to above half their height, were hung with some very curious old tapestry, chiefly representing the Siege of Troy, but this was taken down in the year 1800;\* it had been probably suspended here in the time of Charles the Second. Previously to the late conflagration, the Painted Chamber was used as the place of conference between the Lords and the Commons; but since that event, it has been conveniently fitted up by Sir Robert Smirke as a temporary *House of Lords*, on which occasion it was found necessary to heighten the walls by about one third; the apartment was then covered by a boarded ceiling and a slated roof. Its internal appearance, during the first Sessions held here in 1835, is shewn in the accompanying view, Plate xxxviii.; but considerable alterations have since been made. In this room, in former times, the opening of new Parliaments took place; and the *Warrant* for the execution of Charles the First was signed in it by his judges.

Extending nearly at a right angle from the east end of the above apartment was the OLD HOUSE OF LORDS (the ancient *Parliament Chamber*), which there is reason to believe had been rebuilt by King Henry the Second, on the old

Walter, for seven days at 12*d.* per day was 7*s.*; of Alex. de Wyndesor and Rich. de Bridiz his assistants, for five days each, at 6*d.* a day, was 5*s.*; and of Rich. de Stokwell, 6*d.* for one day.—In this record, therefore, which has never been previously cited, we have another proof of the very early practice of oil colouring in this country. It is a curious fact, that the Roll itself commences with the same date as that which begins the account of the foundation of St. Stephen's Chapel, viz. April the 28th, 20th of Edw. I.

\* Sandford, in his "Coronation of James II." thus enumerates these tapestries, viz. "Five pieces of the Siege of Troy, and one piece of Gardens and Fountains." After their removal in 1800, these hangings were thrown into a low closet or cellar, where they remained some years. About 1820, they were sold to the late Charles Yarnold, Esq. of Great St. Helen's, for £10.

foundations of Edward the Confessor's reign. On the splay jambs of the windows numerous figures were painted, one of which was a representation of the first-named monarch in his robes.\* The walls of this building were nearly seven feet in thickness; and the vaults below, which bore the appellation of *Guy Fawkes's cellar*, were of a very strong and massive character. Piers of brick-work (possibly of Charles the Second's time), had been raised to strengthen the ceiling, and sustain the weight of the Parliament floor above; together with strong rafters of oak, supported by twelve octagonal posts of the same material, standing on stone plinths. This building, as already stated, was pulled down about the year 1823, prior to the erection of the Royal Gallery. It was then ascertained, that the Vaults had been the ancient *Kitchen* of the Old Palace; and near the south end, the original buttery hatch was discovered, together with an adjoining ambry, or cupboard.

The PRINCE'S CHAMBER, or *Old Robing Room*, (which was demolished with the above) adjoined to the south side of the Old House of Lords. Its foundations appeared to have been of the Confessor's time; but the superstructure, from the style of its lancet windows, &c. was generally assigned to the reign of Henry the Third. Single figures were painted on the jambs of the windows, and round the upper part of the Chamber had been oil paintings of angels, holding crowns. Several capitals (whence groinings sprung) were also found, which had been richly gilt and painted (blue and red) in oil colours; two of them, exhibiting the busts of

\* A curious drawing of this figure, taken by the late Mr. Capon on its re-discovery in 1823, (shortly before the building was pulled down) is now in the possession of John Bowyer Nichols, Esq. Two very careful drawings, by the same accurate topographical artist, of the vaults called *Guy Fawkes's cellar*, (with other sketches, &c. of the old Palace) are also in the possession of Mr. Nichols.



Edward the First, and Eleanor his Queen, were carved in Riegate stone, and coloured to resemble life: the hair and crowns were gilt.\* It was from the vaults under this apartment that the Gunpowder conspirators obtained their easy access to those beneath the Old House of Lords, where they stored up their ammunition. Over the door-way between the vaults was a curiously-formed impost, carrying a segment arch, and at some height above that was a semi-circular arch, but the intervening space was filled up solid.

The OLD COURT OF REQUESTS, which was recently the *House of Lords*, and since the fire has been fitted up as a temporary *House of Commons*, is of majestic size: its entire length from north to south being 120 feet, its breadth 38 feet, and its height proportionate. It obtained the above appellation in consequence of the sittings held there by the Masters of Requests; officers who were authorized to receive Petitions of the subjects for justice, or favour, from the King.† This building is of very ancient foundation, and if not the original Great Hall of the Confessor's Palace, as was supposed by the late Mr. Capon,‡ it must have been erected in a very early period of the Norman dynasty. This may be decidedly inferred from the bold zigzag ornamental mouldings which surrounded the three windows at the south end, and are represented in Plate v., as they appeared immediately after the fire. The apartment in which the Lords assembled did not occupy the whole of the interior, some part of the

\* The bust of Edward I., with its rich architectural accompaniments, is shewn in the vignette to Chapter II. (p. 77), which was executed from a drawing by the late Mr. Capon.

† For an account of the constitution of the Court of Requests, see Strype's *Stow*, vol. ii. p. 630, edit. 1755.

‡ Vide his *Plan of the Ancient Palace of Westminster* in "*Vetusta Monumenta*," vol. v.

northern portion having been formed into a lobby, communicating with that of the House of Commons. Independently of the new Throne which had been made for George the Fourth, and was a splendid ornament, this room was adorned with the very interesting Tapestry hangings which represented the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and had been inclosed in large frames of brown stained wood.\* The interior of this building, as newly fitted up for the use of the House of Commons, is represented in Plate xxxix.

This edifice is supposed to have been the original *White-hall* of the old Palace; although Stow expressly applies that name to the "great Chamber" in which the *Court of Wards and Liveries* was formerly held, and the site of which was recently occupied by the Committee-rooms, &c. marked I. J. J. in the Ground plan, Plate II. It immediately adjoined to the south end of Westminster Hall.†

ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, which is reputed to have been founded by King Stephen, was unquestionably rebuilt by Edward the First; as the numerous Rolls relating to it, which are still extant in the office of the King's Remembrancer, abundantly prove. Divers particulars from those records have been given in the second Chapter of the present volume; but we shall here insert some additional information from another

\* This Tapestry, which was wholly destroyed by the fire, was of Dutch workmanship, it having been woven, according to Sandrart, by Francis Spiering, from the designs of Henry Cornelius Vroom, a painter of eminence at Haerlem, in Holland. It had been bespoken by Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral of the English Fleet which engaged the Armada, and was sold by him to James the First. It consisted, originally, of ten compartments, forming separate pictures, each of which was surrounded by a wrought border, including the portraits of the officers who held commands in the English Fleet. Fortunately, engravings from these hangings were made by Mr. John Pine, and published in 1739, with illustrations from charters, medals, &c. The *White Chamber* is mentioned in a record of the 41st of Edward III.

† See Strype's *Stow's "London,"* vol. ii. p. 630, edit. 1755.

Roll of the same reign, of which we have obtained a copy since that portion of our work was published.

This Roll is of great interest, as it distinctly relates to the laying the *foundation* of the Chapel in 1292, and is the first Roll of a series relating to the work, which had been originally numbered from 1 to 118, but many of which have been lost. It commences thus, “*Primus. In honore dei be Marie virg̃ et be Steph̃ Incip̃.*” &c.\* ‘First, In honour of God, of St. Mary the Virgin, and of St. Stephen, commences the Roll of Expenses and Disbursements made relative to the foundation of the King’s Chapel in the Palace at Westminster, by the hands of Master Michael, of Canterbury, mason; namely, from Monday next after the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, April 28, in the 20th year of the reign of King Edward, the son of King Henry.’

The two first entries record the purchase of two ship loads of chalk, ‘bought for the foundation of the said Chapel by the said Master Michael and John le Conuers,’ at 2s. per load. The next items are, for 4 cwt. of burnt lime, at 3s. per cwt.; two loads of ashes at 1s. 3d.; one barge load of foreign stone 6s. 6d.; a barge load of sand at 6d.; and 100 cart loads at  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per load. Then follows a payment to John de Erceling of £4. 6s. 8d. for a ship load of Boulogne stone; three loads of sand, ‘bought for mortar,’ at 6d. per load; a ship load of Boulogne stone, bought of Bonectus de Bononia, at £4. 13s. 4d.; and two cwt. of burnt lime at 6s. bought of Roger de Grenehuth [Green-hythe?].

Several of the ensuing items relate to the purchase of timber, &c. to make a lodge or shed ‘for Master Michael and his masons;’ and 6s. was expended for iron and the making of six pick-axes at 12d. each, ‘to break stones for the

\* The indorsement is, “*Primus Rotulus,*” &c.—The ‘First Roll of Works first executed for the Chapel of St. Stephen in the Palace at Westminster.’



walls.' The total charge for articles purchased during the week, amounted to £13. 4s. 5d.; and forty shillings was paid for wages. Two carpenters, named Robert le Hackre and Alan de Clutisdale, were paid 5d. a day wages; and forty-seven persons had from 2½d. to 3d. a-day (chiefly the lower sum) 'for working at the foundations of the Chapel, making mortar, and various other operations.'

It is evident from the above account, that this edifice was raised on a *concrete* basis, and how judiciously and substantially that was made is demonstrated by the excellent state of preservation in which the *Crypt*, or under chapel, still remains; notwithstanding the ravages of the two disastrous fires which, at different times, have destroyed the superstructure. The bold simplicity of that chapel, as well as its general correspondence with other buildings of the age, leave no doubt on the mind of the architectural antiquary, of its having been executed in the time of our first Edward.\*

Whether the rebuilding of the Upper Chapel (after its destruction in the "vehement fire" of 1298), was commenced by that monarch, or by his immediate successor, has not been ascertained; but that the work had been extensively proceeded with in the reign of Edward the Second, is evident from the account Rolls of John de Norton and Wil-

\* The following account Roll relating to the fabrication of a Banner of St. Edward, for the King's Chapel, in the 21st year of Edward I., has been copied from the original. 'Rotulus de Emptionibus ad opera Capellæ Regis apud Westminst. in Septimana in qua fuit festum S. Petri ad Vincula: An. R. xxi.

'Custus Bannerii.

'Magistro Roberto Aur' [Goldsmith?] et socio suo, ad fabricandum Bannerii S. Edwardi: a postremo die mensis Junii usque ad festum S. Petri ad Vincula, per 48 dies operabiles, cap. pro se et socio suo, per singulos dies 12d.—48s.

'Eidem, pro Vino ad deaurandum, 6d.

'In 3 Florenis Aureis empt. 8s.

'In Argento vivo, ad id. 22½d.

liam de Chayllowe, of which abstracts have been given in a preceding Chapter.\*

In another account Roll of the 19th of Edward II., (anno 1325 or 1326,) of payments made by Robert de Pippeshull, Comptroller, are stated the weekly expenses for felling timber in the forest of Tonbridge, for the 'King's Chapel at Westminster, and the King's Chamber in the Tower of London.' In the 1st week, commencing on Monday October the 21st, John Atte Lake, carpenter, was employed at the above labour at the wages of  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  a day; and seven other carpenters at  $5d.$  a day; and Robert Rowe, mariner, was paid  $6s. 8d.$  for the freight, in one barge, of forty pieces of timber, and carriage of the same from "Nwehuth" to Westminster. Additional carpenters were employed in the following week, at similar wages, and their work was continued for some time.

After the deposition of Edward the Second, the operations appear to have been discontinued until the spring of 1330, at which time they were recommenced by Edward the Third; and they were afterwards progressively carried on until the *final* completion of the internal decorations of the Chapel, about the year 1363 or 1364.† That the architectural works, however, had been finished several years previously, is evident from the letters patent, or royal charter, by which St. Stephen's was constituted a Collegiate establishment, and which bears date on the 6th of August in the 22d year (anno 1348) of King Edward the Third.

\* Vide ante, pp. 120-127.

† The letters patent of Edward III., addressed to the Sheriffs, Mayors, &c. stating, that 'he had assigned William de Walsyngham to impress as many *Painters* in the City of London as would be sufficient for the King's operations in St. Stephen's Chapel,' were dated at Westminster on June the 4th, 37th of Edw. III., (vide Patent Roll of that year, part i. m. 10), and is therefore correspondent to 1363. For numerous interesting particulars relating to the progress of the building, from divers records, see before from p. 147 to 186.

This instrument states, that the King, at his own expense, had caused to be *perfected*, “nostris sumptibus regiis fecimus consummari,” within the Palace of Westminster, an elegant Chapel which had been nobly commenced by his progenitors in honour of the blessed Stephen the Protomartyr; and that for the honour of Almighty God, of the blessed Virgin, and of the said martyr, he ordained and constituted it collegiate, for an establishment of a Dean, twelve secular Canons, and the same number of Vicars, with other requisite ministers, to celebrate religious services for the benefit of the King, and of his progenitors and successors for ever; that he endowed the Dean and Canons with his great ‘*hospicium*’—house, or hostel, in Lombard Street, within the City of London; with the patronage and advowsons of the Churches of Dewsbury and Wakefield, in the county of York; and also with so much money out of his treasury, as, together with the profits from the house and churches, would amount to the sum of £500 a year, until he should provide them with lands or revenue to that annual amount.\*

Repeated additions were made to the original endowments of this establishment by the same monarch, who has been generally regarded (from that cause possibly) as the royal *founder* of this Chapel; although, as his own charter testifies, it had been ‘nobly commenced’ by his predecessors. The vast sums, however, which he must have lavished on the architectural and decorative works of this once pre-eminently splendid edifice, as well as the great value of his grants to the College, would seem fully to justify the honour so attributed to this generous Prince. Among his other valuable gifts to the Dean and Canons, he granted to them on the 1st of January 1353, ‘a plot of ground below his

\* Carta Reg. Edw. III. de Fundatione.—Dugdale’s “Monasticon,” vol. vi. p. 1350.



Palace towards the north, extending in length between the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel, and the '*Recepte*,' or Chamber of Receipts of his Exchequer; and in breadth, from the wall of the Great Hall at Westminster to the Thames, wherein to build a *Cloister* and other houses necessary for the said Chapel, &c. he also exempted them from the payment of all taxes, and gave them the right of free ingress and egress through the Great Hall all the day time.\*

Divers other grants were made by Edward the Third to this Chapel; and among them, in May 1358, was that of the King's Tower at '*Bokelesbury*,' called *Seutes-tour*; and in

\* Carta R. Edw. III. de ampliore Dotatione Capellæ.—Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. vi. p. 1351.—The munificence displayed by Edward the Third in his benefactions to the Dean and Brethren of the Royal Chapel of St. Stephen, appears to have excited strong feelings of displeasure in the minds of the Abbots of Westminster; and while Nicholas Litlington held that office in the latter part of King Edward's reign, those feelings became manifested by an attempt on the part of the Abbot to assert his superiority over the collegiate establishment. In July 1377, William de Colchester, afterwards Abbot of Westminster, was appointed by the convent to prosecute their claim, which was founded on their asserted right of supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the entire parish of St. Margaret, in which St. Stephen's Chapel was considered to be situated. The cause was transferred to the Court of Rome, and a decision was obtained in favour of the Abbot, purporting that St. Stephen's was, equally with all other chapels within the parish of St. Margaret, subject to his jurisdiction. Nicholas Slake was then connected with the Royal Chapel, and as he was in great favour with the King and the Courtiers generally, it may be readily supposed that he would be strongly supported in refusing to yield obedience to the Pope's determination of the cause against his brethren. Hence the suit was protracted, neither party choosing to give way; and it was not until 1394 that a compromise was effected, through the interposition of the then King Richard the Second, and other persons of importance in the State. By the composition thus entered into it was agreed, that the Chapel of St. Stephen, the Chapel of St. Mary under it, a little Chapel on the south side, then used as a Chapter-house, and the Chapel de la Pewe, should be exempt both from the parish and the abbey; but the right to institute and install the Deans there was reserved to the Abbot. Vide Widmore's "History of Westminster Abbey," p. 103, 104.

October 1369, of an Hospicium, or House, called *Le Reole*, in the City of London, together with their respective appurtenances. Philippa, his Queen, was likewise a benefactress to this foundation; and Richard the Second completed the full endowment of the College, by investing it with various manors in Kent, as directed by his grandfather in his will.\*—In a record in the Pell Office of the 9th of Richard the Second, the following curious entry occurs: ‘To the *Boy Bishop* in the King’s Free Chapel within the Palace at Westminster, of the King’s alms, 20s.’

From the Deed of Compromise mentioned in a previous note, effected between the members of St. Stephen’s College and the Abbot of Westminster in August 1394, we learn that the Collegiate buildings were then occupied by thirty-eight persons, ‘serving God in the Chapel of St. Stephen,’ namely, a Dean, twelve Canons secular, thirteen Vicars, four Clerks, six Choristers, and two Servitors, a Verger, and a Keeper of the Chapel de la Pewe. It also notices a small Chapel, contiguous to the Chapel of St. Stephen on the south, then being used as a Chapter House; and states, that a Cloister and Chapter House were intended to be erected anew on a

\* Stow says, (“London,” Strype’s edit. 1755, p. 632) that Edward the Third also built for the use of his Chapel, “at some distance west in the Little Sanctuary, a strong Clochard of stone covered with lead, and placed therein three great bells, since usually rung at coronations, triumphs, funerals of princes, and their obits:” of those bells he adds, “men fabled that their ringing sowred all the drink in the town.” The clochard or tower, here mentioned, and which stood near the spot now occupied by the new Guildhall of Westminster, was, however, of much earlier date than the above reign, and was the belfry of the Abbey Church, as may be ascertained from Widmore’s “Hist. of West. Abbey,” p. 11; and Dr. Stukeley’s communication to the “Archæologia, vol. i. p. 39.—Edward’s bell-tower was the massive building adjoining to the Great Hall, on the east side, in the Speaker’s court, and the walls of which were heightened in the 18th year of Richard the Second, when the Hall itself

plot of ground lying between St. Stephen's Chapel and the Receipt Offices of the Exchequer, 280 feet 10½ inches in length, and 95½ feet and 2 inches in breadth.

Prior to the suppression of this with other free Chapels, by a statute of the 1st Edward VI., (anno 1547) the *Cloisters* had been rebuilt by Dr. John Chambers (Physician to Henry the Eighth), who had been promoted to the Deanery in 1526; and was the last person who held that office.\* Stow in-

was undergoing a similar elevation. See Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster," pp. 89-92; and 206. Numerous benefactions were made to the Dean and Canons of St. Stephen's College in subsequent times, full particulars of which have been given by Mr. Hawkins in the same work, pp. 100-125.

\* The following List of the *Deans* of St. Stephen's Chapel has been drawn up from the most valid authorities, but as our present limits will not admit of the annexation of the latter, we insert the names only:

Thomas Cross, the first Dean, was appointed August 20, 1348.

Michael de Northburgh, or Northbrook, app. Feb. 25, 1351.

Thomas de Keynes, or Kaynes, app. Nov. 26, 1355.

Thomas Rowse, or Rous, app. June 20, 1367.

William de Sleford, app. May 17, 1369.

Thomas Lynton was Dean Aug. 4, 1377, as appears from a mandate (printed in the "Foedera") from Rich. II., of that date.

William de Sleford appears to have been restored to his office, unless there was a second Dean so called, as that name is attached (as Dean of St. Stephen's) to two deeds respectively dated in 1383 and 1394.

Nicholas Slake, or Selake, was Dean in 1399.

Richard Prentys, appointed, probably, in 1403.

Nicholas Slake was re-appointed, and held the office in 1410 and 1411.

Edmund Lacy was Dean in 1414.

John Prentys is mentioned as Dean in several deeds respectively bearing date from 1418 to 1443.

William Walesby was Dean in 1452.

Robert Kyrkeham was Dean about 1460.

John Alcock app. Aug. 29, 1461, and made Bishop of Rochester in 1471.

Peter Courtenay was Dean in 1473, and became Bishop of Exeter in 1478.

Henry Sharp occurs as Dean in November 1478.

William Smyth was Dean before 1492, in which year he was promoted to the See of Lichfield and Coventry.



forms us, that these Cloisters, of "curious workmanship," were erected at "the charges of 11,000 marks." From discoveries recently made, there can be little doubt but that a portion of the more ancient Cloisters of Richard the Second's time was adapted to, and incorporated in, the new work of Dr. Chambers. The Cloisters first built, about 1356, were on the south side of the Chapel, on the spot recently called Cotton Garden.\* The annual revenues of St. Stephen's College, at the time of its suppression, were valued at £1085. 10s. 5d.†

On the 22d of July, in the fourth of Edward the Sixth, (anno 1550) a charter was granted by that sovereign to Sir Ralph Fane, Knt. bestowing on him the site and buildings of the dissolved College of St. Stephen for his services at Musselburgh in the expedition against the Scots, and for the ransom of the Earl of Huntley, whom he had taken prisoner, and surrendered to the King. It recites, that with

Edmund Martyne was Dean in 1498.

John Forster held the office in 1509.

John Chambre, or Chambers, the last Dean, was appointed in 1526.

In the list of Deans given by Mr. Hawkins (vide "Antiquities of Westminster") all the above names are inserted except that of Thomas Lynton; but he includes those of John Boor, Richard Kyngeston, Robert Stillington, (who was Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1461), William Dudley, William Atwater, Thomas Hobbes, and John Vecy, or Voysey. Those persons, however, although styled Deans of the King's Chapel, do not appear to have been Deans of *St. Stephen's*, but of some other Royal Chapel.

\* Sir Robert Cotton had a house (and garden) abutting against the Painted Chamber; and it was there that his invaluable collection of MSS., now in the British Museum, was originally stored.

† Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. vi. p. 1349. According to Browne Willis (vide "Hist. of Abbies," vol. ii. p. 135) independently of annuity charges amounting to £39, there was paid in pensions in 1553, out of the revenues of the late College of St. Stephen to its former prebendaries, canons, vicars, &c. divers sums forming an aggregate of £201. 0s. 10d. yearly.

the advice of his Council, the King had given to Sir R. Fane all the buildings and site of the recently-dissolved College or Free Chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, with all the tenements, chambers, gardens, orchards, lands, hereditaments, &c. within the following limits: namely, all that tract or parcel of land which was bounded by Westminster Bridge towards the north; the river Thames to the east, the Queen's Bridge to the south, the house called "the Lords' Parliament House" towards the south-west; the Whitehall and the buildings called the Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown, and Westminster Hall, towards the west; and the Receipt of the Exchequer to the north. And the grant also includes the whole entrance—"le entré" to the said College, together with a bridge adjacent lying under the "gallary" leading to the Star-chamber, together with all the houses, lands, hereditaments, &c. on either side of the said entrance, situated between the Palace of Westminster on the north, the Receipt of the Exchequer on the west, and the river Thames on the east, reserving only 'the *upper part* of the Church or Chapel of the said College (above the vault or Lower Chapel), which the King had already given and assigned for the House of Parliament, and in which Parliaments were to be held.' The premises were to be held in free soccage as of the royal manor of East Greenwich.\*

\* See "Additional MSS." in the British Museum, No. 6176, fol. 22, copied from the original deed in the Augmentation Office. From a memorandum annexed, it appears that the property thus granted, was valued at £13. 6s. 8d. per annum on the 10th of April 1552. It had been then re-granted to Sir John Gate, or Gates, K.G. and his heirs. In the reign of Elizabeth, it reverted to the Crown, and her Majesty appropriated the premises for the residence of the Auditor and Tellers of the Exchequer.

In the Augmentation Office is an account Roll of 'the *Collector of the Rents* of all Chantries, Free Chapels, &c. in the county of Middlesex, which had come into the possession of the crown by an Act passed in the first year of the

All recollection of the original sumptuous decorations of this Chapel, had been lost from the era of its appropriation to the sittings of the House of Commons, until it became necessary to enlarge the interior in 1800, in consequence of the Union with Ireland. It was then discovered that all the internal walls had been gorgeously enriched with painting, gilding, and sculpture; that the elegant tracery of the windows had been highly adorned with stained and painted glass; and, in fact, that every portion of the interior had been most splendidly embellished. Among the paintings on the walls were represented, in numerous compartments, the Histories of Jonah, Daniel, Jeremiah, Job, Tobit, Judith, Susanna, and of Bell and the Dragon; the Ascension of Christ, and the Miracles and Martyrdom of the Apos-

reign of Edward the Sixth. It contains a specification of the annual rents of a considerable number of tenements, or houses, gardens, &c. (together with the names of the tenants), which had belonged to 'the College of St. Stephen in the City of West'minster.' The highest rent which occurs for a single tenement was £7. 3s. 4d.; another was held at £6; and two others at 100s. each. The others were let at various rents downward from that sum, to the small amounts of 16s. 8d. and 3s. 4d. Altogether about ninety tenements are noticed, and the total rental is stated at the sum of £72. 14s. 1d. annually.

One tenement, called "the *Cheker*," was held by John Twallowe at the rent of 100s.; and divers tenements and rooms in "*Cheker Aley*" were held separately by eleven persons, at rents decreasing from 10s. to 3s. 4d. A tenement in "*Kyngesstreete*," was rented at 54s.; divers others in "*saynte Stevens Aley*," were rented, separately, by nine persons, viz. one at 54s. 4d. and eight at 16s. 8d. each; a tenement in "*Longe Staple*" was let at 56s. 8d.; another called "the *Bull*" was held at 20s.; a certain house called "a *Dovehouse*" was rented at 6s. 8d.; a tenement opposite "the *Palace of Westminster*" at 33s. 4d.; and a tenement called "the *Clockehouse*" in the tenure and occupation of Minione Palmer, widow, was rented at £6. There was also a fee farm rent, paid from the City of London (by the Sheriffs) of 60s. 10d. per annum.—The above are all the entries in the account which specify anything as to the situation or description of the houses.



bles. In the illuminations of the windows were exhibited the stories of Adam and Eve, of Noah and his Family, of Abraham, Joseph, and the Israelites, and of the life of our Saviour from his baptism to his death and crucifixion. Many single figures of angels and of armed knights, together with the figures of Edward the Third and his family, and numerous heraldic shields of his nobility, were comprised also among the decorations of this superb and costly edifice.\* The jewels, vestments, hangings, and other furniture of the Chapel, all corresponded in richness to its other embellishments.

Near St. Stephen's Chapel, and, most probably, on the south side, but the precise spot has not been ascertained, was the small Chapel of *St. Mary de la Pewe*, or Our Lady of the Pew, of which frequent mention is made in records relating to the Old Palace. It was in this Chapel that Richard the Second made his offerings to the Virgin, previously to meeting the insurgents under Wat Tyler in Smithfield, in 1381; and many rich gifts were accustomed

\* For more minute details of the architecture and decorations of this Chapel the reader will refer to the "Plans, Elevations, and Sections of St. Stephen's Chapel," published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1795, from the drawings and measurements of the late Mr. John Carter; and the "Additional Plates," of the same Society, published in April 1807, from the delineations of Mr. Richard Smirke;—to Smith's "Antiquities of Westminster," which particularly relates to St. Stephen's Chapel, published in June 1807;—to Mr. Carter's "Ancient Architecture of England," vol. ii. 1811;—and to Mr. Adam Lee's "Description" of his "Cosmoramic Views" of this Palace and Chapel, which were publicly exhibited about the year 1831. Of the pictures and statues within the Chapel, Mr. Smith gives the following summary: "Forty-six painted figures of angels, five feet high; twenty youths about three feet high, painted on the same level with the angels; thirty-two knights painted also, exclusive of those at the west end; twenty youths, similar to those by the angels, painted on the same level as the knights; twelve statues of stone, at least six feet high, on brackets or piers round the Chapel."

to be made at the altar of Our Lady in this little edifice.\* In January 1411, the sum of five shillings was appropriated by deed under a bequest of John Ware, late a canon of St. Stephen's, to maintain a daily light in a silver lamp, before the image of "St. Mary the Virgin in Pewa." In another deed, dated in 1443, it is styled the Oratory, called *Le Pewe*, belonging to the College or Chapel of St. Stephen. Stow says, that on the 14th of February 1452, "by negligence of a scholar appointed to put forth the lights of this Chapel, the Image of Our Lady, richly decked with jewels, precious stones, pearls, and rings, more than any jeweller could judge the price (for so saith my author, John Pigot) was, with all this apparel, ornaments, and Chapel itself, burnt; but since again re-edified by Anthony, Earl Rivers."† That nobleman by his will, dated in June 1483, bequeathed his heart to be buried in this Chapel; but his decapitation at Pontefract in the same year, and the consequent troubles of his family, prevented his wishes being accomplished. At what time the Chapel was finally destroyed does not appear.

WESTMINSTER HALL.—Originally built by King William Rufus, strengthened and enlarged by Richard the Second, new fronted and repaired early in the reign of George the Fourth, and internally renovated, in respect to its stone work, within the last two years, this magnificent structure forms one of the most imposing objects in the British Metropolis; and whether considered in respect to its national associations, or to the skill and science displayed in

\* From the frequent attestation of miracles, reported to have been wrought here, the Chapel became a place of great devotion; and many indulgences were granted to those worshipping our Lady at this altar.

† Vide Strype's Stow's "London," vol. ii. p. 633, edit. 1755.

its construction, it is alike interesting to the historian, the architect, and the antiquary.

From the time of its erection by Rufus, between the years 1097 and 1099, it does not appear that any *extensive* repairs were made in the Great Hall prior to the reign of Richard the Second. That occasional repairs were effected there can be no doubt, as such are mentioned in the records already quoted of Edward the Second's time ;\*—and in the introduction to the recently-published "Issue Roll" of Thomas de Brantingham, it is stated (p. xxxii), that among the ancient documents in the Pell Office, there are accounts of payments being made in the 1st year of Edward the First "To Stephen, the King's Painter, for 'whitewashing and decorating the King's *Great Hall* at Westminster;' and to Rich. Wolward, Keeper of the King's House at Westminster, 1 mark to repair the King's *Vineyard* there.' †

\* In a Wardrobe account of the 11th year (anno 1317) of Edward the Second, (extracts from which were read before the Society of Antiquaries in the spring of 1835), the following items occur, viz.

'To Gilbert de Wynston, for a great wooden table bought by him for the King's table in the Great Hall of the Palace of Westminster, in the month of December in this year, £1. 13s. 4d.

'To Thomas de Stebenhith [Stepney], mercer, of London, for a great hanging—'dorsorium'—of wool, wrought with figures of the King and Earls upon it, bought of him for the King's service, in his Hall, on solemn festivals in December, £30.

'To Thomas de Berlay, for money paid by him for making and sewing of a border of green cloth round the said hanging, for saving the same from being damaged in fixing it up, Westminster, 5th of January, 6s. 3d.;—and mem. that the said hanging was delivered to Dom' Ralph de Stok, to keep in his custody, on the same day.'

† In his third year, Edward the First directed his treasurer to 'pay to Master Robert de Beverley, Keeper of our Works at Westminster and the Tower, £1100 for the works in our Church and Palace at Westminster, made therein against the coronation, viz. for grey freestone, £24. 13s. 3½d.; for timber



The earliest authentic record known to be extant respecting the renovation of this edifice by Richard the Second, are the Letters Patent of that King, dated the 21st of January in the 17th of his reign (anno 1394), and addressed to John Godmerstone, clerk, appointing him 'to repair the Great Hall within the Palace of Westminster, to take masons, carpenters, and other workmen, and set them to the said repairs; and also to take such stone as should be necessary for the work; and to sell to the King's use the old materials of the Hall, together with a certain old bridge over the Thames, &c.\* In the following year, as appears from an indenture in old French (dated the 18th of March in the 18th of Richard II.) preserved in the Pell Office, Richard Washbourn and John Swalve (Swallow), masons, were engaged to heighten the entire walls of the Hall to the extent of two feet of assize, with Reigate ashlar, and Caen stones, '*Pere de Marre*' (sea-borne stone) where necessary, according to the purport of a form and model devised by Master Henry Zeneley, and delivered to the said masons by Watkin Wal-

boards, &c. 108s. 6½d. with stipends to the carpenters, painters, plasterers, stonemasons, and other workmen.' Vide "Issue Roll," of Thos. de Brantingham, &c. Introduction, by Mr. Frederick Devon, p. xxxiii.

\* Vide "Rot. Patent." in Turri, 17th Rich. II. part i. mem. 3. This record (which has been hitherto unquoted) proves the error of Stow in stating, that the Great Hall was "begun to be repaired in 1397," the work having been nearly three years in progress at that time. Richard the Second, he continues, "caused the walls, windows, and roof to be taken down and new made, with a stately porch, and divers lodgings of a marvellous work, and with great costs, all which he levied on strangers banished or flying out of their countries, who obtained license to remain in this land by the King's charters, which they purchased with great sums of money—John Boterell being Clerk of the Works." Strype's Stow's "London," vol. ii. p. 627. Stow was mistaken also in saying, that 'the walls were taken down,' which was not the fact, as they were cased over with new ashlar work.

don, his warden :\* they were also properly to secure the upper course of the said work, “ par lynel ” (bats and cramp irons ?); receiving payment for their labour at the rate of 12*d.* per foot, lineal measure. They were likewise to construct, and securely fix in the inner walls, twenty-six ‘ *souses* ’ (under-props), or sustaining corbels, of Caen stone ; and to carve every corbel in conformity to a pattern shewn to them by the treasurer ; for each of these corbel supports, so wrought, and certain connecting facings of Reigate stone, they were to be paid 20*s.* Every necessary for the said works, namely, ‘ stone, lime, sand, scaffolding, engines,’ &c. was to be supplied at the King’s expense (together with lodgings—*herbergage*’—for the masons and their companions), except manual labour and ‘ the instruments [tools] used by the masons in their art.’ A moiety of the work was to be completed by the ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist ; and the other moiety by Candlemas-day, (February the 2*d*) in the following year.†

There can be no doubt but that the twenty-six corbel ‘ *souses* ’ (thirteen on each side) were introduced for the better support of the immense timber-framed roof which surmounts and spans over the vast area of this building, and which forms one of the noblest examples of scientific construction in carpentry that exists in any part of the world, it having no peering whatsoever, except at the extremities of the great ribs, which abut against the side walls, and rest upon the above corbels.‡ It was requisite, however, that other con-

\* Henry Zeneley, or, as he is called in other records, Yeveley and Yevele, was one of the masons employed in 1395 to construct the tomb of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, his first consort, in the Abbey Church at Westminster.

† See Rymer’s “ *Fœdera*,” tom. iii. pars iv. p. 105, edit. 1740.

‡ In a small tract descriptive of “ Westminster Hall,” published a few years ago by Mr. J. Rickman, that gentleman remarks, that “ the difficulty of ex-

trivances should be adopted to resist the weight and lateral thrust of the new roof; the original walls of William Rufus, (which had been chiefly formed of rubble and grout-work) were therefore strengthened by an external casing of stone, one foot seven inches in thickness; and divers arched or flying buttresses, viz. six on the western and three on the eastern side, of considerable height and solidity, were also erected as abutments.\*

The northern front of the Great Hall, with its embattled flanking towers and magnificent porch, was an addition made to the original entrance by Richard the Second; except, possibly, the upper part of the eastern tower, which appears not to have been finished until the succeeding reign. But the Hall itself was completed before Christmas 1398;† and that festival was kept within it, by the King, in a “most royal” manner, “with every day iustings and running at the tilt; whereunto resorted such a number of people that there was every day spent xxvi or xxviii oxen, and three

plaining in what manner such a span of roof could have been supported before the flying buttresses were erected, was done away [during the renovation of the north front about 1820] by the development of an ancient triple door-way at the northern entrance, indicating that the Hall was originally divided by pillars of wood or stone, so as to form a nave and side aisles in the manner of a large church.”—We have no proof, however, of such pillars having ever stood there.

\* That no more than three arch buttresses were erected against the eastern wall, doubtless arose from there being previously, on that side, the massive belfry tower (already spoken of) and the old buildings constituting the ‘Receipt Offices’ of the Exchequer, which formed abutments sufficiently substantial for the purpose of the Architect, whose profound and practical knowledge of geometry in the construction of the Hall roof is still the theme of such strong admiration among the professors of the art.

† Stow says 1399; but it must be recollected that our annalist, with some of the older chroniclers, commenced the year with the feast of the Nativity. King Richard was deposed in September 1399; and on the Christmas of that year he was a prisoner in Pontefract Castle.



hundred sheep, besides fowle without number. Also the King caused a garmente for himself to be made of gold, siluer, and precious stones to the value of 3000 markes.”

Partial repairs of this edifice, accompanied by minor alterations (as the opening a new door-way below the great window at the south end, in 1680,\* &c.) were made in different reigns, prior to the restoration of the entrance front, (except its regal statuary), with Bath stone in the years 1819-20. This work was very skilfully accomplished under the direction of the late Mr. Thomas Gayfere, mason, who was likewise the chief artificer employed in the beautiful renovation of King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, between the years 1809 and 1822. When the new front was in progress, an additional tier of windows was inserted in the slope of the roof on each side of the Hall, and the lantern upon the roof was renewed and glazed.†

\* This door-way, which was originally made for the convenience of the Lords in proceeding into the Hall to attend the trial of Lord Viscount Stafford, was afterwards connected with the passage communicating with the staircase of the House of Commons. It is thus mentioned in the “State Trials,”—“All things being in readiness, and a large door-place broken through the upper end of Westminster Hall into that room which was heretofore the ‘Court of Wards,’ their Lordships passed from their ‘House’ first into the Painted Chamber, then through that called the Court of Requests; thence, turning on the left hand, into that called the Court of Wards, they entered at the door so broke down as aforesaid, into Westminster Hall, and passed through a long Gallery placed between the King's Bench and Chancery Courts into this new erected Court” for the trial of the Earl.—Howell, vol. iii. p. 102.

† The new lantern is of cast iron; but the florid style in which it is designed does not accord with the simplicity of the highly-pitched roof of the building. By glazing it, also, every indication was destroyed of its original purpose, as an aperture for the emission of smoke, when, in the usual mode of our old Baronial and Collegiate Halls, a large wood fire was made on a circular stone-hearth beneath, with a hollow surrounding it for the reception of the embers. Such a hearth is still in use in the College dining-hall at Westminster.

Whilst the Hall continued closed during the year of suspense, prior to the coronation of George the Fourth, the opportunity was judiciously seized for a thorough repair of the timber roof. At that time, forty loads of well-seasoned oak, obtained from old ships broken up in Portsmouth dock-yard, were used in renewing decayed parts, and in uniformly completing the roof at the north end, where it had been originally left unfinished: the entire roof is of oak.

Shortly before the occurrence of the late fire, it had been determined to renovate the whole internal stone-work of the Hall; and this has been most effectually and skilfully executed under the direction of Sir Robert Smirke. The old facings of the walls were cut away, and their place is supplied by a beautiful ashlar of Huddleston stone, six inches in thickness.\* The surmounting cornice and corbels, with all the armorial devices and sculptures connected with them, have been renewed, in exact correspondence with the original work. The great south window, with the elegant niches to the right and left,† and all the lower windows on the east and west sides, have likewise been completely restored. The floor also, (the ground having been lowered about twelve inches) has been entirely new-paved with York landings, in uniform lines; each stone being nearly two feet square.

On the western side of the Hall are seven large door-ways

\* This stone has been obtained from a quarry on the estate of R. O. Gascoyne, Esq. at Parlington, near Leeds; which appears to have been wrought two centuries ago, and was recently brought into fresh notice by the opening made on account of the Leeds and Selby Railway.

† “At y<sup>e</sup> upper end of Westminster Hall are y<sup>e</sup> figures of Edw. y<sup>e</sup> Confessor, W<sup>m</sup> y<sup>e</sup> conquerour, W<sup>m</sup> Rufus, Hen. y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, & King Stephen, w<sup>th</sup> crowns on their heads; and on either side of y<sup>e</sup> great gate of y<sup>e</sup> Hall are y<sup>e</sup> rest down to Rich<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup>, who was y<sup>e</sup> founder as is evident by y<sup>e</sup> device, w<sup>ch</sup> is a hart round y<sup>e</sup> verge of y<sup>e</sup> wall & y<sup>e</sup> arms carved held by angels.” Vide Harleian MS. No. 5900: written, probably, in the time of Charles II.

communicating with the new *Law Courts* of Westminster; which were designed by Mr. Soane (now Sir John) and built under his direction between the years 1820 and 1825. These Courts were erected upon the site of the old Exchequer Court, and divers offices, &c.: their relative situations and comparative extent, may be ascertained from the Ground Plan, Plate II.

On the eastern side of New Palace Yard, near the bank of the Thames, stood various old buildings and offices formerly belonging to the Exchequer; and adjoining to them, northward, was an arched Gateway, apparently of Henry the Third's time, which communicated with a boarded passage and stairs leading to the water. At different times, since 1807, the whole of this range of building has been pulled down; the last remaining part, which included the offices where the *trials of the pix*, and the printing of Exchequer bills, were recently carried on, was destroyed early in the year 1836. There was also an apartment in the same edifice, in which that despotic tribunal the STAR CHAMBER COURT, held its sittings during the most obnoxious period of its career; namely, from the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, until the final abolition of the Court by Parliament, in 1641. This, however, could not have been the "*Chambre des Estoilles*," or "*Camera Stellata*," in which the Court originally sat, and from which it received its designation\*; for the building itself was evidently of the Elizabethan age, and

\* The *Star Chamber Court* is supposed to have obtained its name from the roof or ceiling of the Chamber, in which its judges originally sat, having been decorated with gilded stars. Vide *Archæologia*, vol. viii. p. 404. In the same work, vol. xxv. pp. 342-393, is a very interesting Dissertation on the origin, functions, jurisdiction and practice, of the Court of Star Chamber, by John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A.—It may be inferred from various records, that the old Star Chamber Court occupied the same site, or nearly so, as the late buildings.



the date 1602, with the initials E. R. separated by an open rose on a star, was carved over one of the doorways. An interior view of this latter *Star Chamber*, as it appeared shortly before its demolition, is shewn in Plate xx. The ceiling was of oak, and had been very curiously devised in moulded compartments, ornamented with roses, pomegranates, portcullises, and *fleurs-des-lys*: it had also been gilt and diversely coloured.

On the northern side of New Palace Yard, directly fronting the entrance porch of the Great Hall, on a spot now hidden by the houses on the terrace, stood a once famous *Clock Tower*, which had been erected (and “furnished with a Clock,”) in the reign of King Edward the First, with a fine of 800 marks that had been levied on Sir Ralph de Hengham, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, for altering a Record—although, as we learn from Coke’s “*Institutes*,” it was done out of mere compassion for a poor man. The keepers of this Clock Tower, Clock-house, or Great Clock, as it is variously termed, were appointed by the Sovereign; and the wages, as appears from divers writs of appointment now extant, were 6*d.* a day, payable at the Exchequer. Stow says, there was a *Fountain* near the Tower, which at coronations and great triumphs was “made to run with wine out of divers spouts.”\* The Tower was pulled down about the year 1707, by order of Queen Anne; and its Bell, which had been called *Great Tom of Westminster*, was bought for St. Paul’s Cathedral; but it was afterwards re-cast (with additional metal,) in consequence of

\* In Hollar’s print of New Palace Yard, published in 1647, the Clock Tower and the Fountain are both shewn: the situation of the former is also indicated by a dial in front of a house on the present terrace, having the motto from Virgil, “*Discite Justitiam moniti*,” which probably had been inscribed on the old Tower, in allusion to the cause of its origin.

being cracked in passing through Temple Bar, where it was thrown from the carriage on which it had been placed.

Of the several entrance GATES to the Old Palace, that erected by King Richard the Third is the only one of which we have any description; and although it may be inferred from the records cited before, (vide pp. 337, 338) that other buildings were either raised or repaired at Westminster by the above sovereign, no document has been found by which such an inference can be verified.\* “On the west side,” Stow says, of the Palace Court, “is a very fair gate, begun by Richard III, in the year 1484, and was by him built a great height, and many fair lodgings in it, but left unfinished, and is called the *High Tower*, at Westminster.”† Strype has given some particulars respecting the eight wards of St. Margaret’s Parish, from which it appears that in Elizabeth’s reign this structure was known as “the Queen’s Majesty’s Gate, in King Street.”‡ Maitland describes it, as “a very beautiful and stately edifice, called *High-Gate*, situate at the east end of Union Street,”—but “having occasioned,” he remarks, “great obstructions to the Members of Parliament in their passage to and from their respective houses, it was taken down in the year 1706.”§

In June 1807, when the taverns and other houses in Union Street were demolished, in order to enlarge the thoroughfare, it was found that a remnant of the Gate had been left standing, and had been wrought into a partition wall between the Mitre and Horn Taverns. On the labourers proceeding to take it

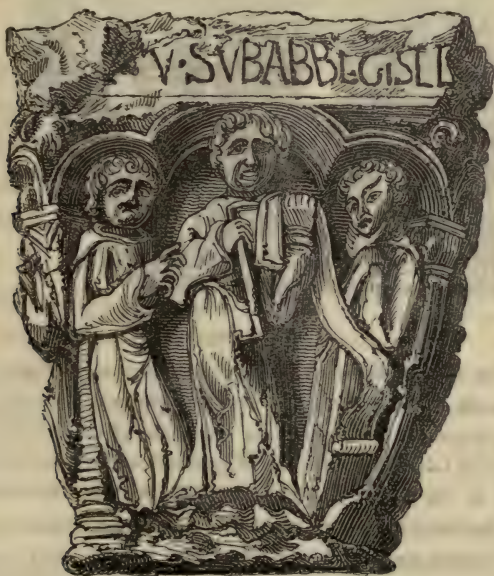
\* John Rous, praising Richard the Third for his architectural works, mentions Westminster as one of the places where he raised or improved buildings: “Erat iste Rex Ricardus in ædificiis laudandus, ut Westmonasterii, &c. .... multisque aliis locis, ut ad oculum manifeste evidet.”

† Strype’s Stow’s “London,” vol. ii. p. 634.

‡ Idem, p. 635.

§ “History of London,” vol. ii. p. 1341: edit. 1772.

down, the late Mr. Capon, who was always most sedulously attentive to the preservation of whatever was curious in ancient art, observed that on one of the stones, which had been built up in the substance of the old wall, some remarkable sculpture was apparent. This stone he had carefully removed, and on freeing it from dirt and rubbish, it proved to be the very extraordinary CAPITAL which is represented in Plate xxxv., and in the three wood-cuts attached to the present Chapter.



Wm. Capon, del.

N. Whittock, sc.

ANCIENT CAPITAL.

It is very evident that this Capital must have been executed to commemorate the bestowal of some valuable grant or confirmation, by *King William Rufus*, on *Gislebertus*, Abbot of Westminster. In all probability, therefore, it had formed part of a building within the Abbey, on which it had been deemed expedient thus to record the gift of Rufus; but which having been afterwards destroyed, the materials



were worked up into the gateway of King Richard the Third's time.\*



Wm. Capon, del.

N. Whitlock, sc.

ANCIENT CAPITAL.

\* The value of a confirmatory charter, from such a rapacious grasper of Church property as Rufus, must have been well known to the monks of Westminster; and hence we may account for the origin of the sculptures and inscribed legend on this *unique* Capital. It appears from the Chartulary of Westminster, now in the British Museum, that Rufus confirmed to the monks the Church of Niwekerke in London, which they possessed by the gift of Alward; the lands which they possessed by the gift of King Edward, and those which he himself had bestowed, &c., also the lands, and privileges, which they held in London; and lastly, the privileges, of the Churches of 'Rotelande.' Vide MS. Cott. Faustina A. III. f. 64, 65.—In the wood-cut, at the head of this Chapter, the King is represented sitting under a kind of trefoil-headed arch, (an approximation to the Pointed style) and holding with upraised arms a long roll, or charter; on one side is the Abbot, distinguished by his crosier; and on the other, an attendant monk.—In the second wood-cut, the Abbot is seen bearing the charter in his left hand; on each side is a monk, one of whom appears to be reading and considering the extended Roll.—In the third compartment, the Abbot is represented returning thanks; before him is a reading-desk, on which are the open Scriptures, with the words *Ego sum* on the dexter page. Mr. Capon sold the Capital to Sir Gregory Page Turner, Bart. for one hundred guineas.

ARRANGED LIST  
OF THE  
ENGRAVINGS,

WITH DESCRIPTIVE NOTICES OF THE BUILDINGS THEY REPRESENT, AND  
REFERENCES TO PARTICULAR PARTS; ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND  
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION.

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THE Palace and Collegiate buildings are referred to in the following order:—1. ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, and its Crypt, Cloisters, and Appendages. 2. THE PAINTED CHAMBER. 3. THE OLD COURT OF REQUESTS, lately the House of Lords. 4. THE GREAT HALL. 5. THE STAR CHAMBER. 6. ANCIENT CAPITAL AND CEILING. 7, 8. THE NEW HOUSES OF LORDS AND COMMONS as fitted up in 1834-5.

A general GROUND PLAN of the entire site of the Palace and Parliamentary buildings, forms the subject of PLATE II.; and shews the relative positions, arrangements, sizes, &c. of the numerous offices and apartments connected with the two Houses of Parliament and the Law Courts, as they appeared previous to the fire in October 1834. A brief notice of this plan, with references to its details, will furnish the stranger with much useful information. The *oldest parts*, marked darker in colour than the rest, are, A.A. The *Great Hall*,

B. *The Old Court of Requests*, afterwards the House of Lords, and made the House of Commons since the fire; (1. The King's Robing Room. 2. Lobby. 3. Stairs. 4. Lord Chancellor's Room.) C. *The Painted Chamber*, fitted up for the House of Lords in 1834-5. D. *St. Stephen's Chapel*, late the House of Commons. E.E. *The Cloister*, attached to the same. F.F.F. *The Speaker's House*, with its official appendages, being part of the collegiate buildings. G. Part of the offices of the *Exchequer*. H. Houses of John Rickman, Esq. Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, and Wm. Godwin, Esq. Author of the "Life of Chaucer," &c. I.I. Stairs to the House of Commons. J.J. Committee Rooms. K.K. The Judges' Entrances to the respective *Law Courts*, which are numbered on the Plan in the following order: 1. *Court of King's Bench*, 2. *Court of Equity*. 3. *Court of Exchequer*, 4. *Court of Common Pleas*, 5. *Vice Chancellor's Court*, 6. *High Court of Chancery*. 7. Lord Chancellor's retiring room. 8. Judges' retiring room. 9. Attendants' waiting room. 10. Barons' retiring room. 11. Bail Court. 12. The Lord Chancellor's entrance. L.L. *Grand Inquest Jury Rooms*. L.\* Library of the Masters in Chancery. M.M. *Committee Rooms* to the House of Lords. N.N. *Arcade* to the House of Lords. O. *The King's Entrance Porch*. P. Entrance to the *King's Staircase*, which is at Q. R.R. *The Royal Gallery*. S. *Library of the House of Lords*. T. T. T. *Parliament Offices*. U. *Library of the House of Commons*. V. House of the Clerk of the House of Commons. W. *Long Gallery*. \*\* Open Courts.

#### 1st. ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, AND ITS CLOISTERS.

THE form, proportions, and architectural features of these once splendid buildings are illustrated and characterised in the accompanying engravings, or at least so much of them as



could be ascertained immediately after the fire. References to, with brief descriptive remarks on the different parts and details of the prints, will enable the reader to understand the whole design of the Chapel, its sub-divisions, and its appendages. To render this account clear, it will be proper to point out, first, the basement story, or Crypt; next, the Chapel; and afterwards, the Cloisters.

The CRYPT, SUB-CHAPEL, OR BASEMENT STORY, is shewn in the following Engravings. PL. XXVI., a *Ground Plan* of the northern half; PL. XXV., a *Section*, shewing the northern side of the same internally; PL. V., half of one severy, or compartment, internally, and externally, with its Section; PL. XVIII., Elevation, Section, Plans, &c. of the half of a window, shewing its mullions and tracery, both in plan and elevation, also the ribs of the vaulting, with measurements:—(these details are chiefly given on the authority of the late Mr. J. Carter). PL. III. is a view of the western end, looking S. West. The measurements and details of this once noble Crypt, or sub-chapel, are defined by the scales on PLATES XXIV., XXV., and XXVI. Its original height has been much reduced by the accumulation of rubbish &c. as intimated in PLATE XXV., at B.B. where the ground is shewn to reach nearly to the capitals of the clustered columns. The base, as well as the footing of the wall, is from four to six feet lower than shewn in this section. The clustered columns, east of B, with bases and capitals running much above those to the west, were probably executed when the superincumbent part was fitted up as a dining room for the Speaker, and wherein he gave his state dinners. The three compartments A.A.A. were occupied by this room. Its original height was about 15 feet, length 52 feet, and breadth 32 feet. As indicated in PL. XXVI. the Crypt had side windows at g.g.g.g; on the opposite side, were most probably others, with two or three at the east

end: there were door-ways in the north, south, and west walls. The Buttresses at J. K. are of modern erection: those attached to the north and south walls are of great projection, shewing that they were intended to support lofty thin walls, and a weighty roof. The north-western entrance is very curious, as shewn in PL. XIX., where the ribs with their boldly-relieved bosses, the panneling over the door-way, and a distant part of the Crypt are all displayed. Another passage from the Crypt, communicating with the vestibule of the upper Chapel, of very singular design and adaptation, is shewn in PL. XVI. The architectural antiquary will not fail to notice the manner of supporting two archivolts, and the bold and enriched rib-work and bosses between the unequally-pointed arches, which spring from brackets in the side walls. This view is from the landing of the stairs at C, looking towards *e* in PL. XXVI. Strength, solidity, fine proportions, and skilful execution, are the characteristics of this basement chapel.

As shewn in the Ground Plan of the Hall and its surrounding buildings, (PL. II.) ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL is connected with, and cuts into the south-eastern angle wall of the Hall, from which the architect has taken away a large mass of the old work, in order to obtain room for his stairs and vestibule to the Chapel. This *Chapel*, as appears from many documents in this volume, was a most splendid edifice. Preceding, in respect to time, the other royal chapels of St. George, Windsor; King's College, Cambridge; Eton; and Henry the Seventh, at Westminster, it was smaller in dimensions than either of those structures; but, as immediately attached to the regal Palace, it was particularly gorgeous in its paintings, gilding, and ornamental furniture, and also extremely beautiful in its architectural design. Its original interior dimensions are not easily ascertained; but it is presumed to have been 86 feet in length; 38 feet in width, and 44 feet in

height.\* As shewn in the engravings, every part of the walls was adorned with architectural ornaments, insulated and attached columns, with enriched capitals and bases,—tracery with panels, niches, friezes, and string-courses. Its windows were likewise adorned with the finest stained glass that could be procured; and it may be fairly inferred that the flooring and ceiling were finished in corresponding styles of richness. Nor can we doubt that the stalls, altar, screens, and other furniture were equally elaborate and sumptuous. It will not require much exertion of imagination to fancy the effect of such a gorgeous Chapel in its finished state, devoted to the shewy and ostentatious ceremonies of the Roman Catholic

\* These measurements are given on the authority of the late Mr. John Carter, who made an elaborate set of drawings of the Chapel, about the year 1791, for the Society of Antiquaries of London, from which fourteen plates were engraved for, and published by that Society in 1795. In 1811, fourteen other engravings were published from drawings by Richard Smirke and Dixon. Mr. Carter furnished descriptive accounts of the building, whilst Captain Topham, and Sir Henry Englefield wrote historical particulars of the same. At the time of making those drawings, many parts of the Chapel were perfect, or traceable, which were then and soon afterwards destroyed, to adapt the apartment for the business of Parliament. In other delineations of the architecture of the chapel, published by Mr. Carter, in his work on "The Ancient Architecture of England," he indicated his opinion of the original design and details of the windows, the inner roof, and of some other parts. These are shewn in PLATES I., and VI., in which the tracery in the spandrels of the windows, and that of the cornice and frieze, both internally and externally, and the pinnacle on the buttress, are from Mr. Carter's drawings. Respecting the genuineness of those restorations, a difference of opinion prevails, and particularly as to the tracery of the windows, and the form, construction, and details of the roof. It does not appear that Mr. Carter had any clear authority for those restorations, and therefore represented them according to his knowledge of the architecture of that age. Few persons were better qualified by extensive study and acquaintance with the details of our ecclesiastical antiquities, to suggest such alterations than Mr. Carter; but his enthusiasm and theories often misled his judgment. He thus apologizes for introducing into his engravings "many restorations, that some idea may be entertained of its original finishings. If the attempt is found bordering on presump-



worship. Either under the influence of a mid-day sun, pouring many coloured rays across the choir,—or when illumined at night by numerous large waxen lights about the altar, the scene must have been superlatively impressive and fascinating. Of the form, position, and ornaments of the original inner roof, or vaulted ceiling, there is much difference of opinion amongst architectural antiquaries: some contend that it was of stone, adorned with tracery; whilst others assert that it was formed of timber arranged in many panels, and enriched with colouring, painting and gilding. One or two architects insist that it had a clerestory, above the pre-

tion, let it, at the same time, be considered, that no one decoration of this sort is set forth as positive evidence, but displayed with an humble wish to do honour to our antiquities, while others are so ardent in their zeal to violate and destroy them.” In another place, he shews that he had just cause to complain of being denied access to measure parts of the chapel and make sketches, in the year 1800, when Mr. James Wyatt was making many alterations in the Houses of Parliament. “From the great difficulty attending the making sketches of the lines of the chapel during the year 1791, they being in general covered with modern wainscotting, benches, and conveniences the most indecorous, it will not be wondered at if some inaccuracies are discernible by those who, in 1800, having found favour with men in office, had the good fortune (the walls being at that time cleared of every disfigurement) to obtain permission to view and study from them; I, being held unworthy of benefiting by such short-lived opportunity, was denied all access.”\* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1800, he gives full scope to his feelings, both in reprobation of the heedless and wanton mutilations of the Chapel, and other parts of the palace, and in panegyric of the wondrous beauties of the former. “I solemnly declare,” he says, “correcting my opinion by years of experience in the study of our ancient architecture, that this Chapel, before the sacrilegious days of the 16th century, must have been the first of all the architectural works of the land, where sublimity of design, grandeur of arrangement, richness of ornaments—where sculpture, painting, and gilding, dazzled the eyes of vision, to receive an emanation of those realms of light which await the blessed. No common praise is now my theme; had I the eternal-catching comprehension of the inspired Milton, I could but faintly tell the wonders of this place.”

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\* “The Ancient Architecture of England,” part ii. p. 10.

sent finishing cornice, and that, consequently, it must have been very lofty. On these conflicting opinions, it would be useless to occupy much space or time by argument; but we may venture to express our own conviction, resulting from a careful examination of this Chapel at different times within the last thirty years, and of many other royal and monastic chapels in England;—from all which, as well as from the height, length, and width of that of St. Stephen, we cannot but infer that it never had a clerestory; nor is it probable that it was vaulted with stone.

As intimated by the Ground plan in PL. XXVI., this Chapel consisted of five divisions, or compartments, having a large and lofty window, between two piers, in each. Beneath these windows, and extending around the Chapel, was a series of arcades, or niches with canopies. These rested on an ornamented plinth, part of which formed a stone seat. In the spandrels of the niches were numerous shields containing armorial bearings, and the wall of the niches was decorated with paintings, representing drapery, figures of saints, knights, and scriptural subjects. Between the arcade and the sills of the windows, was an enriched frieze; whilst another of nearly similar design extended along the upper part of the Chapel. The continuity of this frieze, from one end to the other of the building, without any appearance of bracket, or support for the springers of a groined roof, is the chief reason for the opinions of those who think that there was a clerestory to the Chapel. The style of decoration, both internally and externally, of one half of a compartment, is shewn in PL. VI., on which plate is also displayed a section of the wall of the Crypt, and of the Chapel, with a lateral elevation of a buttress. Of the eastern and western ends of the Chapel, it is difficult to speak with certainty. The former had a large and lofty window, but its tracery and mullions

have been so greatly mutilated by the various alterations made to the building, as to excite much doubt in regard to its original details. The western end is still more an object of ambiguity : in almost every large chapel and monastic church, this was the prominent, and most attractive external object, and from being made the principal entrance to the sacred fane, it was usually adorned with a profusion of architectural and sculptural detail. But the design of St. Stephen's Chapel, in this respect, is dissimilar to any other monastic English building. Having its floor much above the level of the ground, and raised upon an arched apartment beneath, it was approached by a flight of steps from the west, arranged in a sort of vestibule between the south end of the Great Hall, and the north end of the White-Hall, lately the House of Lords. Part of this vestibule is shewn in PL. XXIX., on the right hand of which, on the platform of the steps, is the double door-way to the Chapel ; whilst the other beautiful door-way communicated by stairs with the cloister. Facing this, at the southern side of the vestibule was a corresponding door-way, shewing that there were communications to the Chapel from the Lesser Hall (as it was sometimes called) ; from the cloister ; and from the ground floor. (see PL. XXVI. a.) The screen at the top of the stairs was very beautiful, as may be inferred from the plan, elevation, and section of one compartment represented in PL. XI.

The *exterior* features of the Chapel, but in a ruinous condition, are displayed in PLATES VI. XII. XXV. XXVIII. and XXX. PLATE VI. shews the form and projection of one of the buttresses, with half of its face ; also the spandrel to the window, the corbel table, and a very beautiful parapet. There is an ornamental band under the window, ranging with the set-off in the buttress. Beneath this band is panelling, with ogee crocketed archivolt mouldings springing from the exterior moulding of the crypt window. PL.



XII. is a view of the Chapel after the fire, from the S. E., in which are shewn four divisions of the south side, the turrets at the east end, and part of what is supposed to have been a cloister on this side. PL. XXV. is a view of the Cloister court, taken immediately after the fire, when the area was filled with water, and when the ruins were occasionally enveloped in clouds of smoke. This view represents the south and western sides of the Cloister, with its two stories of windows, the double *Oratory* on the western side, one of the buttresses, with part of the roof of the Hall, and fragments of the northern wall of the Chapel. However melancholy and deplorable the scene of ruin after the late destructive fire, it is scarcely less to be regretted than the wanton and reckless alterations formerly made by an Architect, and by officers of Government, in the Chapel and Cloister now under review. Whilst the latter was partly fitted up for the appendages of a kitchen, for servants' offices, and the most menial purposes, the area was occupied by a large shed-like kitchen; part of the exquisite lower Oratory was converted into a scullery; and chimneys, sinks, and closets were cut into, or patched up against its florid windows and tracery. The upper Cloister was divided into numerous small apartments and offices, and even the vast abutments of the Great Hall, were cut into, or hacked away, without the least regard either to the stability of the edifice, or to its architectural character. The beautiful ornaments, paintings, and minute sculpturings of the Chapel itself were ruthlessly defaced, or broken to pieces to give place to modern wainscotting, ceilings, windows, passages, stairs, &c.; whilst chimneys and fire-places were worked into, or affixed to the buttresses and walls. To shew the total disregard of all style and architectural character, we need only refer to the view of the *East Front* (PL. XXVIII.) which serves to exemplify the taste that was displayed about

the year 1800, when numerous and very expensive alterations and additions were made to these once splendid and sacred buildings. An interior view of this end, shewing its miserable style of patch-work, is given in PL. XXVII., which also exhibits the ruinous state of the walls and windows after the fire. As intimated in this Plate, the great east window was partly filled up with brick-work, three small semi-circular headed windows were inserted, a doorway was cut through the wall, at the place of the altar, holes or passages were cut through the angular octagonal turrets, and instead of the collegiate apartments, with their appropriate door-ways, windows, fire-places, &c., the insipid plastered walls, with squared holes for windows, were made for the Speaker's official residence. At the time of the fire, this house was spacious and replete with conveniences ; and it is but justice to the late occupant, to admit that he manifested great anxiety to preserve all the fine and beautiful parts of the cloister, crypt, &c. which were left when he obtained possession, from further injury and defacement.

The CLOISTER, that unique and once splendid part of the college, is very amply illustrated in the accompanying engravings, of which no fewer than fifteen are appropriated to display its many beauties. The *Ground plan*, PL. XXIII., and the Ground plan of the whole of the buildings, serve to point out the position and arrangement of this Cloister. It consisted of two stories, and had two *Oratories*, or private chapels, connected with the lower and upper walls of the western cloister. The ground plan of the former is given in PL. XVII., and also to a larger scale in PL. XXXI. ; whilst its architectural features are shewn in PLS. XXIII. and XXXII. The western end, or entrance, from the cloister, is engraved in PL. XXII., A. which also shews an elevation of the exterior of the east end. No. 3, a section of the side walls and vaulted roof, C. D. ; the screen

between the upper Oratory and Cloister, B. and an elevation of the window and panelling of that Cloister. A longitudinal section of these chapels is shewn in PL. XXXII., with their junction with the two stories of the Cloisters. Two of the beautiful niches in the upper Oratory, with their elegant brackets and canopies, are delineated in the engraved Title page, PL. I. The two Statues in the same plate, are from niches in Westminster Hall. As indicated in the *Plan*, PL. XVII.—in the Views of the lower Cloister, PLS. XXXIV. and XXXVI.—and in those of PLS. XXI. XXXII. and XXXIII., the whole vaulted roof is covered with fan-like tracery, at the intersections of which are several very finely-sculptured bosses. This tracery and some of those bosses are engraven in PLS. XXII. XXXI. and XXXII., and their appearance, in perspective, is shewn in PLS. XXXIV., and XXXVI. A view of the upper Cloister, in its deplorable state of ruin, immediately after the fire, occupies PL. XXX., in which part of a flying buttress to the Hall is displayed, blackened by the fire. This part was occupied by several small chambers, divided by lath and plaster partitions, and rising to the roof of the Hall. The other engravings of details of the Cloister, need only to be examined by the architectural antiquary to be understood and applied to their respective situations.

The wood-cut *Vignette* on the Title-page, includes a representation of one of the Collegiate Seal of St. Stephen's, which is ornamented with niches and statues. The figures in the upper compartments are those of the Madonna, crowned, with her Infant; and St Katharine: those beneath, were evidently intended for St. Stephen, bearing in his right hand a church, and in his left, a basket of stones, as indicative of his martyrdom; and the members of the College, who kneeling to him in prayer. At the bottom are the royal arms of France and England, as quartered by King Edward



the Third; and round the verge is this inscription:—S. COM'E DECANI & COLLEGII CAPELLE S'C'I STEPH'I WESTMONASTERII.—The back ground indicates a portion of one of the ornamental curtains originally painted on the interior walls of the Chapel.

THE PAINTED CHAMBER, in plan, and in connection with the other buildings, is pointed out in PL. II., and its ruined condition internally is delineated in PLs. XIV. and XV., (which latter should be marked looking west), whilst part of its exterior character is marked in PL. XII. Its remarkable newel stair-case, at the south-east angle, is shewn in PL. XIII.; and a small cell, or closet, which is at the bottom of that stair-case, will be seen represented in page 360. The Vault, or cellar, beneath this chamber, is represented by the wood-cut inserted on page 247.

Attached to the western end of the Painted Chamber, and branching from it to the north, is the ancient apartment, which has successively been called the *Lesser Hall*, the *White Hall*, the *Court of Requests*, the *House of Lords*, and now (1836) the *House of Commons*. That it constituted a part of the Norman Palace may be inferred from the forms, sizes, and dressings of the three windows which are represented in PL. v., and were fully displayed after the fire. These perforated the southern wall, and it is probable that there were other windows in the other walls; but so many alterations have been made in the whole building at different times, that most of its ancient character has been destroyed. Its western wall, with a bold (modern) block-cornice, and several apertures for windows, door-ways, &c. is shewn in PL. XXXVII. Parallel to this wall, and projecting into Old Palace-yard, a series of apartments was erected about the year 1800, and which being raised in a hasty manner, and according to the irresponsible system of the time, was so badly executed, that many alter-

ations and repairs were afterwards required to be made. Nothing can more clearly shew the slight nature of these buildings than is exhibited by the above print, from which it appears that nearly the whole walls were laid prostrate by the fire, whilst those of the adjoining substantial edifice, defied the raging flames,—as already they had twice or thrice done in former ages. So also the thinner walls of St. Stephen's Chapel have not only resisted the flames, but have braved the storms of two winters, after being pronounced by some architects 'unsafe and dangerous !'

The GREAT HALL of Westminster justly ranks amongst the superior examples of old English Architecture, and in its present state of restoration and improvement, it forms one of the most noble apartments in Europe. Its length, (internally) from north to south, is nearly 240 feet, and its breadth, from east to west, 68 feet; the extreme height to the central apex is about 92 feet. Of the geometric skill displayed in the construction of the timber-framed roof of this edifice, we have already spoken. It is a master-piece in the art of carpentry, and well deserves the attentive consideration of every scientific builder.\* By referring to the Ground Plan, Pl. II., and to the three other engravings numbered VIII., IX., and X., a correct idea may be obtained of the posi-

\* In a recent Lecture on the subject of Roofs, delivered at the Society of Arts by Mr. Roze, jun. a scientific engineer of London, that gentleman made the following remarks :—"The principle of the construction of these roofs is founded on that property of the triangle, that whilst the lengths of the sides remain the same, the angles are unchangeable, and in this case all the pieces (of timber) are arranged to form the sides of triangles, and thus all the joints are rendered fixed and unmoveable. Thus, what would at first sight have the appearance of being a weight upon the roof, is, in fact, its strength and safety. Our ancestors did not attempt to conceal these roofs with a ceiling; but, justly proud of their ingenuity in construction, exposed the whole to view, carved and ornamented on all the more prominent parts."

tion and extent of this vast pile,—of its relative connexion with the Parliamentary and Legal Offices,—and of its principal features when considered architecturally. In the Ground Plan is shewn the general form of the two northern towers, the recessed portal and chief entrance, the doorways to the different Law Courts, &c. and the situations of the several buttresses which support the roof. In Plate VIII., a compartment of the interior, on the east side, is delineated as it appeared during the late repairs, and after one of the original Norman semi-circular arches, of the time of Rufus, had been uncovered. Divers others, of corresponding form and character, and on the same plane, were also discovered whilst the work was in progress; and divers fragments of Norman capitals, &c. were found to have been wrought up into the walls when heightened by King Richard the Second. These discoveries are of the greater interest, as almost every vestige of the Norman architecture had been obliterated, or hidden, by the alterations made here by the last-mentioned sovereign. The enriched string-course, or rather cornice, that goes round the interior, with its corbel brackets, from which spring the great timbers of the roof, is partly shewn in the same Plate, together with two of the pointed windows of Richard's age. The sculptured arms on the corbels are those of France and England, quarterly, and of St. Edward the Confessor, as borne by Richard the Second; whose favourite badge, viz. the White Hart, lodged, ducally gorged and chained, and his crest of a Lion guardant crowned, standing on a chapeau and helmet, are also sculptured, in alternate succession, on the cornice. Indications of Norman windows were also observable at the south end, on each side the great window; as may be perceived from the novel delineation forming Plate x., which was sketched from a window near the south-east angle. This



view exhibits the general design and details of the massive roof,—the tracery of the southern window, (with the enriched niches on the west side,) and the door-way beneath it, as they appeared in 1835,—two of the windows on the western side,—and a modern door-way, leading to the corridor connected with the Law Courts.\*

Plate ix. represents a portion of the north-eastern exterior of the Great Hall, with some adjoining buildings formerly belonging to the Receipt of the Exchequer, as taken from the opposite side of St. Stephen's Court, or enclosed area, in front of the late official residence of the Speaker.† In this view is seen one of the great buttresses of King Richard the Second's time, and likewise one of the flat Norman buttresses of the Rufus age, together with indications of a Norman string-course extending along the wall, nearly in a line

\* In February 1836, Mr. Sidney Smirke communicated to the Society of Antiquaries some information respecting the walls, flooring, &c. of the Hall, as ascertained during the late repairs. In the course of his observations it was stated, in reference to the opinion entertained by some architects, of there having been two rows of columns in the Norman time, extending through the entire length of the original Hall, that there are two apartments in Italy, without columns, of rather larger dimensions than this at Westminster.

† We must refer for more particular details of the Great Hall to Britton and Pugin's "*Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*:" which includes a ground-plan, and section of this edifice; an interior view; and an elevation and plan of the northern front and entrance porch; together with a copious essay, by Mr. Britton, historical and descriptive. Three large and elaborate Prints, comprehending an elevation, section, and details of the Hall have likewise been published by Mr. L. N. Cottingham. The "*Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details, and Views*" of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, with "*the History of its Foundation*," &c. in two volumes, folio, by the same skilful architect, rank with the best publications of the kind in this country. Since the late fire, Mr. Cottingham has executed a very beautiful MODEL of the exterior of *St. Stephen's Chapel*, as in a perfect state; and he is now employed on a similar restoration of the interior of that most interesting and unique specimen of English Architecture.

with the present window sills. Three of Richard's windows, and several of those inserted in the slope of the roof in George the Fourth's reign, with the upper part of the north-eastern tower, are also comprehended in the same engraving.

Before the erection of the present Law Courts, the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery occupied a considerable space at the upper or south end of the Great Hall; but they were separated from each other by a flight of steps and a passage communicating with a landing-place leading to the House of Commons. During the first fifty years of the last century, there was also a range of counters, book-cases, &c. on each side of the Hall, for the use of Book and Print-sellers, Mathematical Instrument Makers, Sempstresses, Haberdashers, and other trades-people, who were permitted to carry on their respective occupations within its spacious area.\*

The ancient *Court of Exchequer*, which had probably been founded as early as Henry the Third's reign, but was greatly altered in the time of Queen Elizabeth, (and the site of which is now occupied by the Bail Court, &c.) was 74 feet in length and 45 feet in width. Adjoining to it, southwards, was the *Little Exchequer Court*; which had, also, the traditional name of Queen Elizabeth's Chamber. The lower apartments, beneath each of those Courts, had been for a long time appropriated to the storing of records; and several smaller offices, westward, (all which have been destroyed,) were used for similar purposes.

\* For an account and copy of a curious Print, (after a delineation by Grave-lot,) of the interior of the Hall, as it appeared in the year 1730, whilst fitted up for the above purposes, see Brayley's "*Londiniana*," vol. i. pp. 209-211. The Print has the title of "*Westminster Hall in Term Time*." It exhibits, on the western side, the *Side Bar*, at which certain formal motions were accustomed to be made; and, although the practice is now different, the phrase '*Side Bar Motions*,' is still used professionally.

In additional reference to the Court of Star Chamber, of which some particulars have been detailed in connexion with Plate xx., it may be remarked, that the appellation '*Starre Chamber*' is given to a long range of building near the banks of the Thames, at Westminster, in the curious Bird's-eye Plan of London, attributed to Ralph Aggas, and supposed to have been delineated about the year 1570.\* The site marked is evidently the same as was occupied by the buildings recently destroyed. In the same Plan, the Clock Tower and Fountain in New Palace Yard are shewn, and also several of the Palace Gates.

The ancient *Capital* representing the grant of King William Rufus to Abbot Gislebertus, of which the three existing sculptures are delineated in Plate xxxv., is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, 12 inches square at the top, and (decreasing conically) about 9 inches in diameter at the bottom. All its faces were originally sculptured, and the inscription was doubtless continued round the abacus, but when found it was evident that one side had been partly cut away to make the stone lie flush in the wall; some human feet, however, and the lower parts of the including pillars, were still left.

On the same Plate with the Capital is shewn one of the compartments of an oaken Ceiling, which was delineated by the late Mr. Capon from a room in the ancient Palace, adjacent to the Prince's Chamber.

For the temporary accommodation of the Members of the Two Houses of Parliament, after the fire, directions were given by Government that the late "*House of Lords*," (or old Court of Requests) should be new roofed, and properly repaired and fitted up for the Commons to assem-

\* In the reign of Henry the Sixth, the King's Council frequently assembled in the Star Chamber.—Vide "Proceedings," &c. "of the Privy Council," vol. iii. preface, by Sir H. Nicolas.



ble in, and that the old "*Painted Chamber*" should be similarly treated for the use of the Lords. For this work, as well as to provide the necessary apartments and conveniences for the business of both Houses, Sir Robert Smirke was employed as architect, and Messrs. S. Baker and Son as builders. With that extraordinary celerity which a few builders in the metropolis only can command, the works were commenced early in November 1834, and fully adapted for the opening of the Parliament on the 19th of the following February. The accompanying views of the two Houses thus internally rebuilt and adapted to their respective purposes, viz. Plates xxxviii., and xxxix., will render description unnecessary; and the more particularly so, as further alterations were made in both interiors immediately after the close of the Session. Additional lobbies, and other temporary buildings were also constructed for the better accommodation of both Houses during the course of the year 1835. The sum expended in these various works has been stated to be upwards of £40,000.

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PARTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL & CLOISTER  
WESTMINSTER.

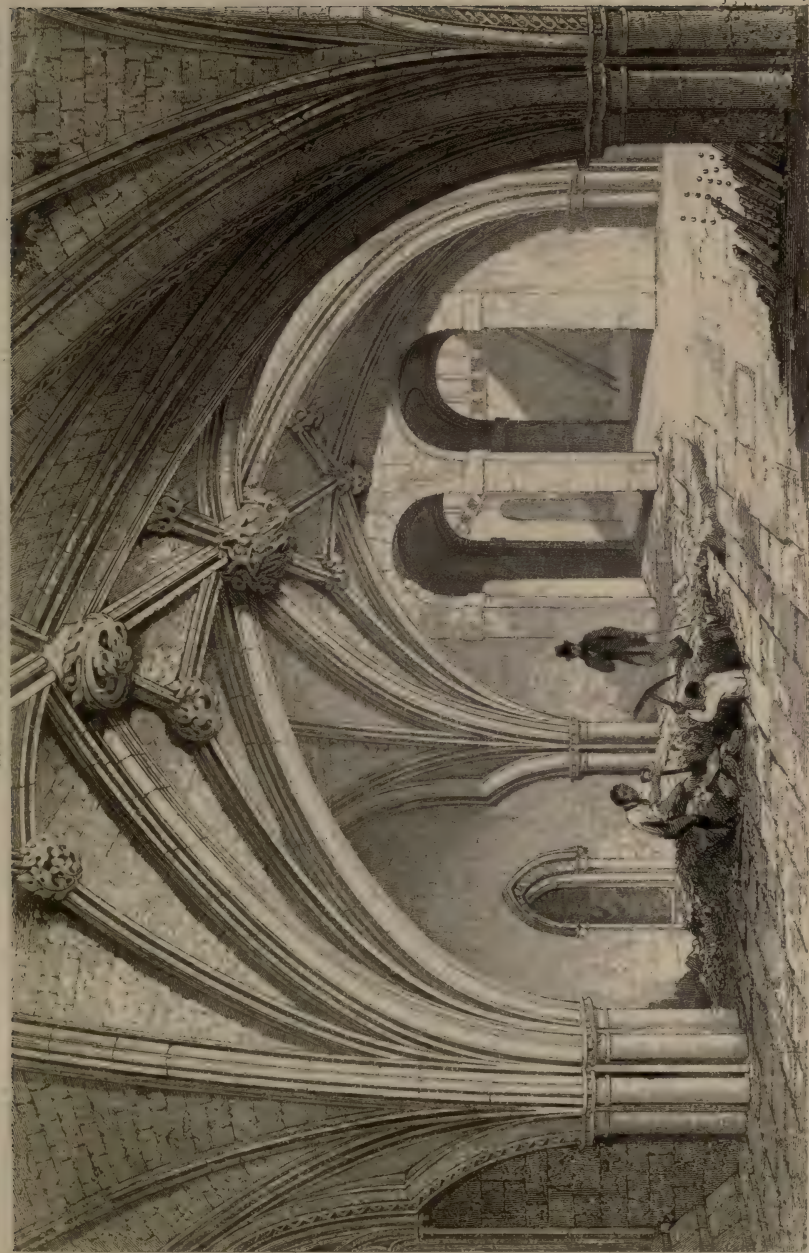
REFERENCES. A. Frieze & B. Window St Stephen's. D.E. Spandrels to Windows &c.  
C. & N. Niches in Oratory figures from the Hall.

to vvd  
August 1860









J. Woodcut, sc.

CRYPT UNDER ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.  
WESTERN END.—LOOKING WEST.

R. W. Billings del. Aug. 9. 1835.

Illustration of the Crypt under St. Stephen's Chapel, looking west, from a drawing by R. W. Billings, del. Aug. 9. 1835.







R.W. Burges del. and sc. 1863.

THREE WINDOWS, S. END, COURT OF REQUESTS.  
WESTMINSTER.

The "Globe" &

and S. of London





SECTION

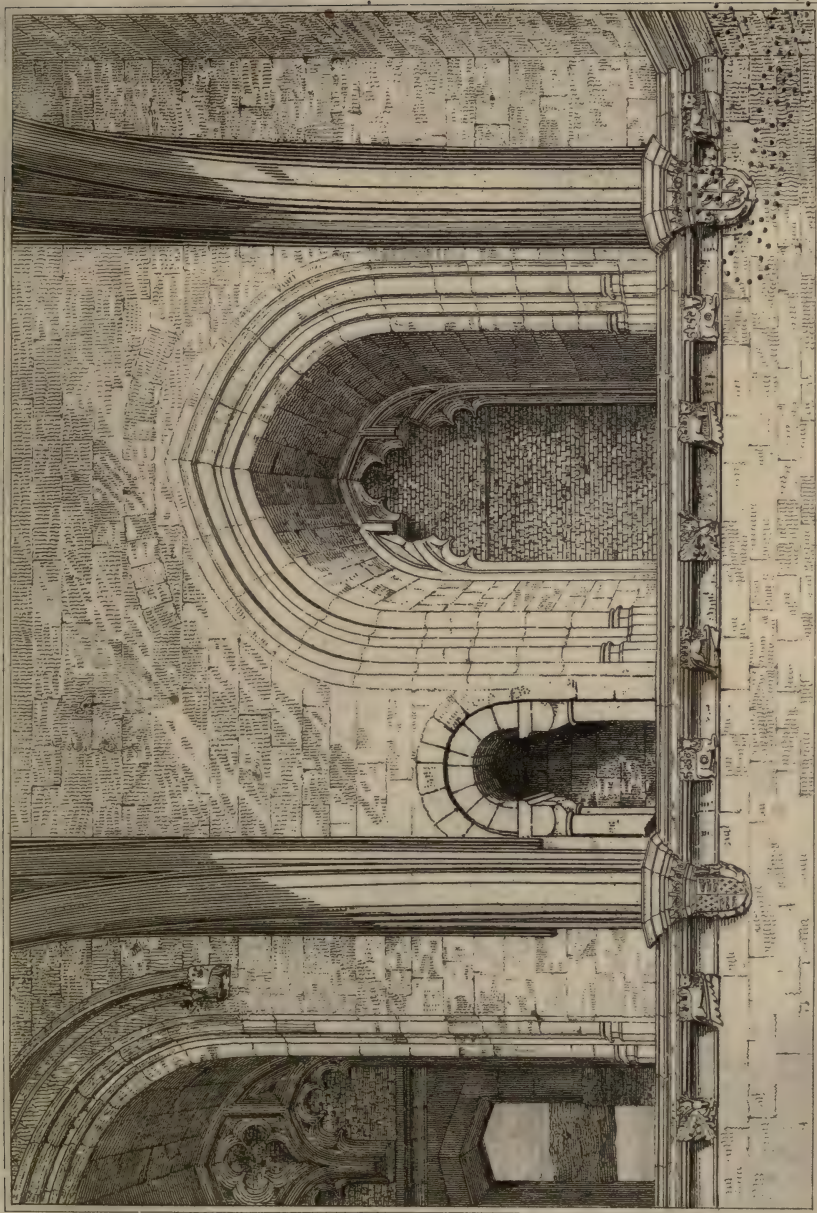
EXTERIOR

ELEVATION

INTERIOR



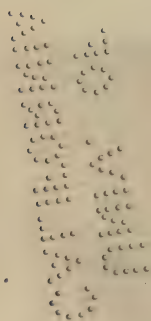




WESTMINSTER HALL. COMPARTMENT E. SIDE NEAR S. END.

Designed & Engraved by R. W. Billings. Novr 6. 1844







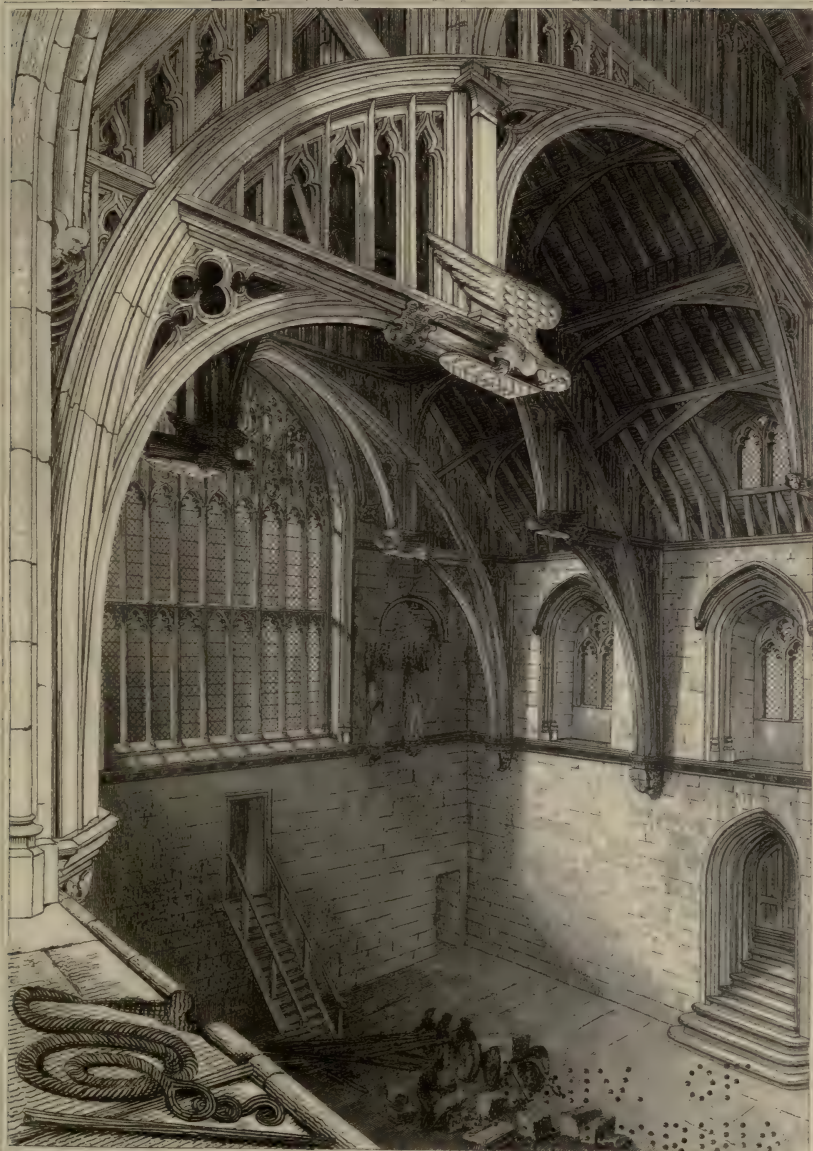
WESTMINSTER HALL.  
BUTRESS & EAST SIDE.

W. H. Stiles del. J. H. Stiles sculp.

London: Published by T. Agnew & Sons, 15, Abchurch Lane, in the Strand, W.C.







R.W. Billings del.

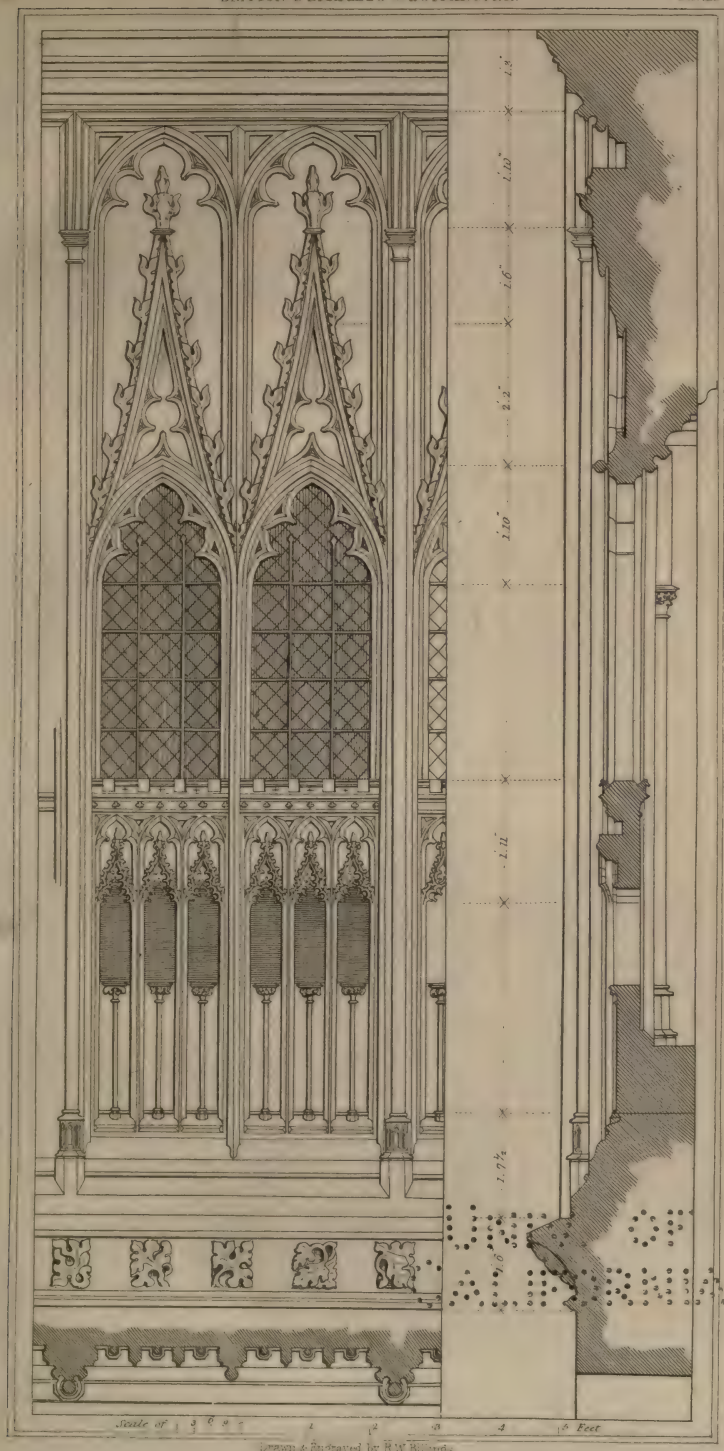
Hawkesworth sc.

WESTMINSTER HALL,  
SOUTH END, AND PART OF WEST SIDE.

Gad &amp; Co Printers.

London Published Aug. 1. 1835. by J. Wale, 59. High Holborn.





ELEVATION, SECTION AND PLAN OF ONE COMPARTMENT (OF THREE)  
OF THE SCREEN ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER.







R. W. Barrington del. J. G. S. 1855.

E. END PAINTED CHAMBER, & S. SIDE ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.  
WESTMINSTER.

London, Published March 1. 1855. For J. Wolfe, 59 Bath, Holborn.

Printed & Published by







R. W. Billings del.

W. Taylor sc.

STAIR CASE AT S. E. ANGLE, PAINTED CHAMBER.  
WESTMINSTER.

W. & C. Denton

London, Published March 1, 1856, by J. Wale, 59 High Holborn.

THE NEW  
AMERICAN



Drawn Oct., 1834, & Engraved by Tho.<sup>s</sup> Clark.

PAINTED CHAMBER, LOOKING EAST.  
WESTMINSTER.

London, Published March 1, 1835 by J. Weale, 49 High Holborn.

Gad & Co. Printers.







R. W. Billings del. Oct. 20. 1834

Theo. Clark sc.

PAINTED CHAMBER, LOOKING EAST.  
WESTMINSTER PALACE.

London, Published Jan<sup>y</sup> 1. 1835, by J. Weale, 50 High-Holborn.

and S. C. Printers

UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA





E. W. Billings, del.

E. Woodcut, scul.

STAIRS AND PASSAGE  
FROM ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL TO CLOISTER.

London, Published Aug. 11, 1839, by J. Weale, 52, High St. Horn.

THE  
AMERICAN  
LIBRARY



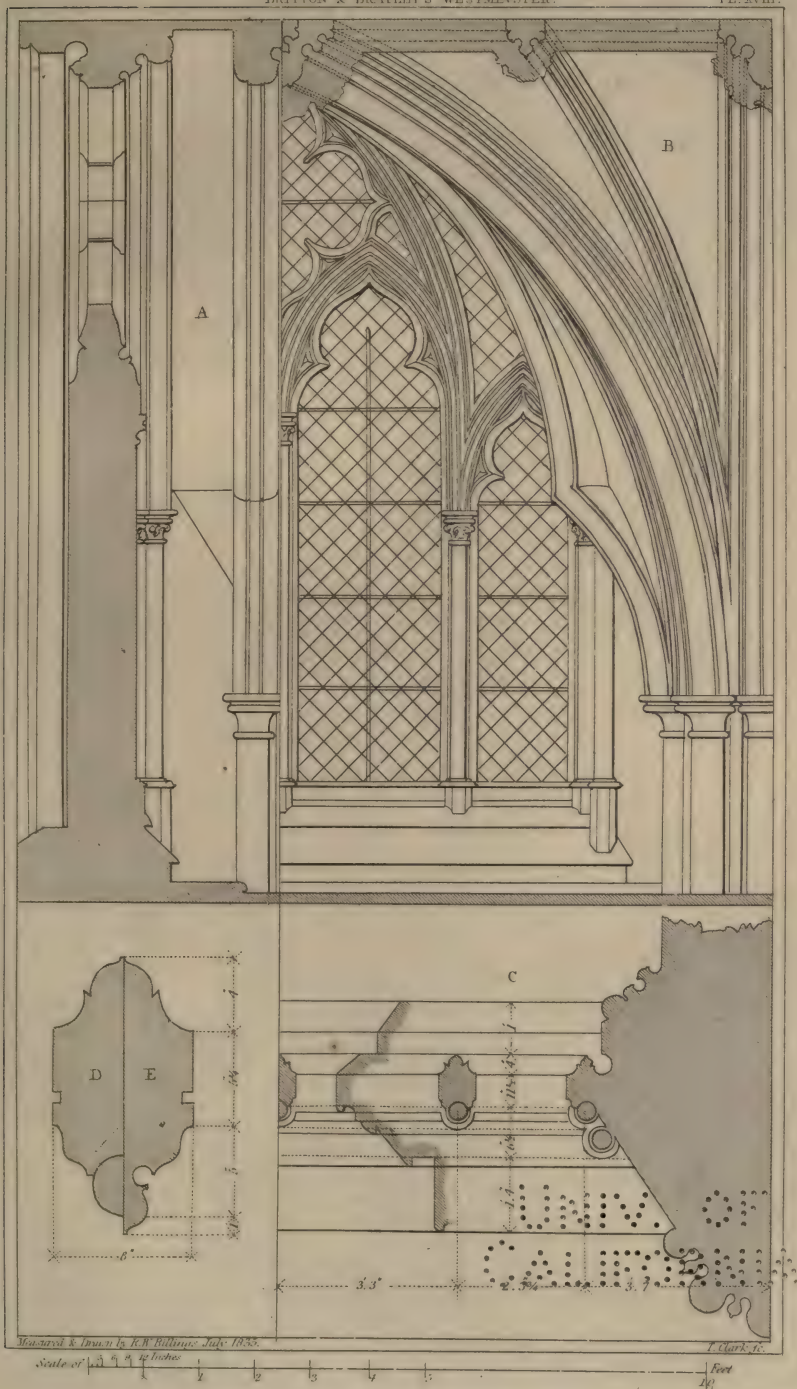
PLAN OF CLOISTERS ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER.

To Francis Goodwin, Esq. D.D. This Plate is respectfully inscribed as a testimony for his liberal contribution in aid of this Work.

London: Printed and Sold by J. Wood, 25, High Street.







WINDOW OF THE CRYPT TO ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL,  
WESTMINSTER.

A. Section of Window.

B. Elevation of D<sup>o</sup> with Elevation of the ribs of the crypt.

D. Plan of the Mullion at large.

E. D<sup>o</sup>

D<sup>o</sup> above the columns.

C. Plan of D<sup>o</sup> and of one of the Piers of D<sup>o</sup>





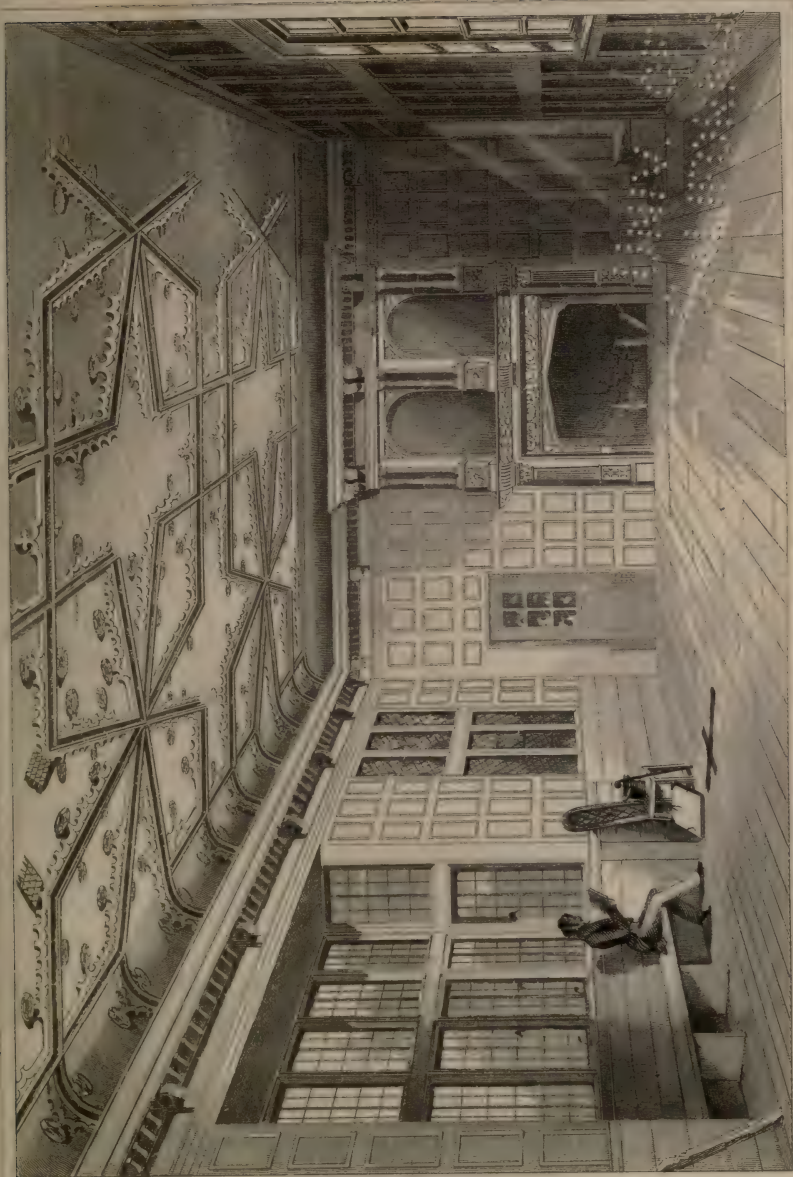


*J.W. Pinnings del.*

*H. Woolnoth sc.*

ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.  
ENTRANCE FROM CLOISTER TO CRYPT.

70-1111  
ANNALS



INTERIOR OF STAR CHAMBER,  
WESTMINSTER.

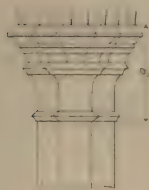






Part of Window C.

12 9 6 3 0 4 2 3 feet



Cap and base of Column D.



Part of elevation under windows at E

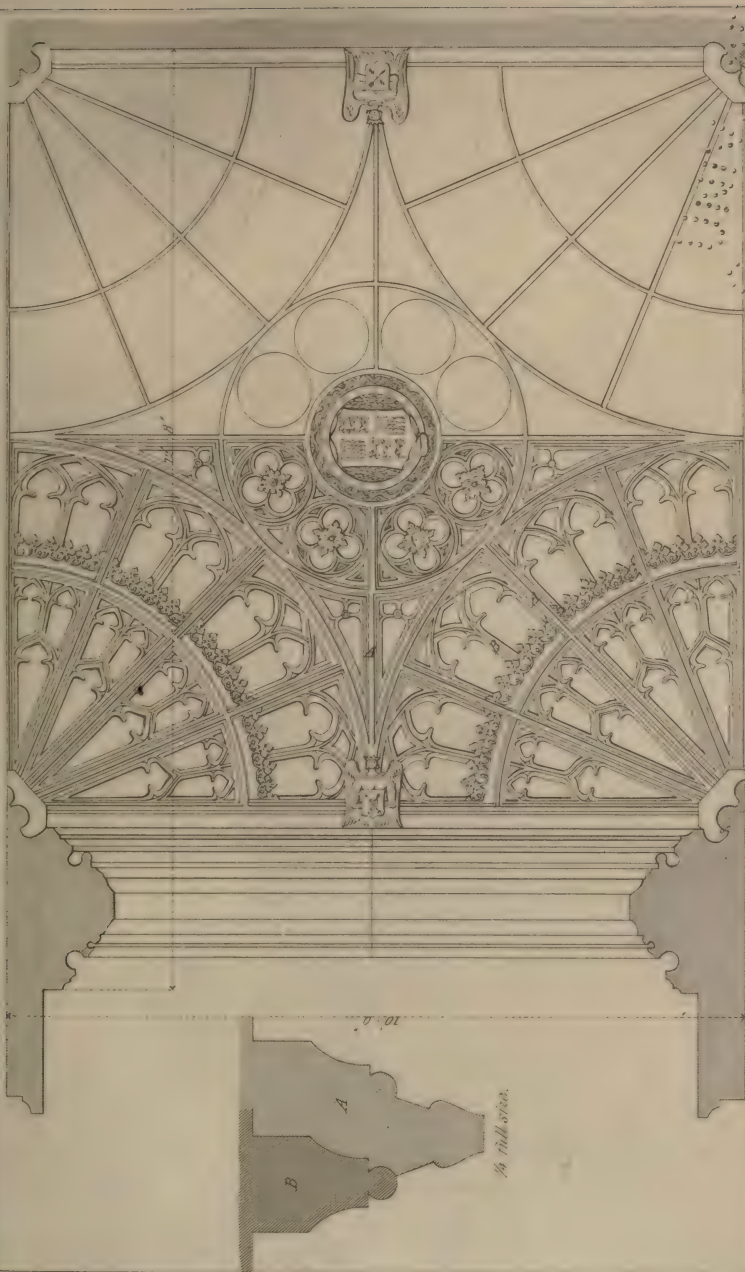
J Hewitt del.

F Mansell sc

DETAILS OF THE CLOISTER OF S<sup>t</sup> STEPHENS CHAPEL.







J. H. Russell del.

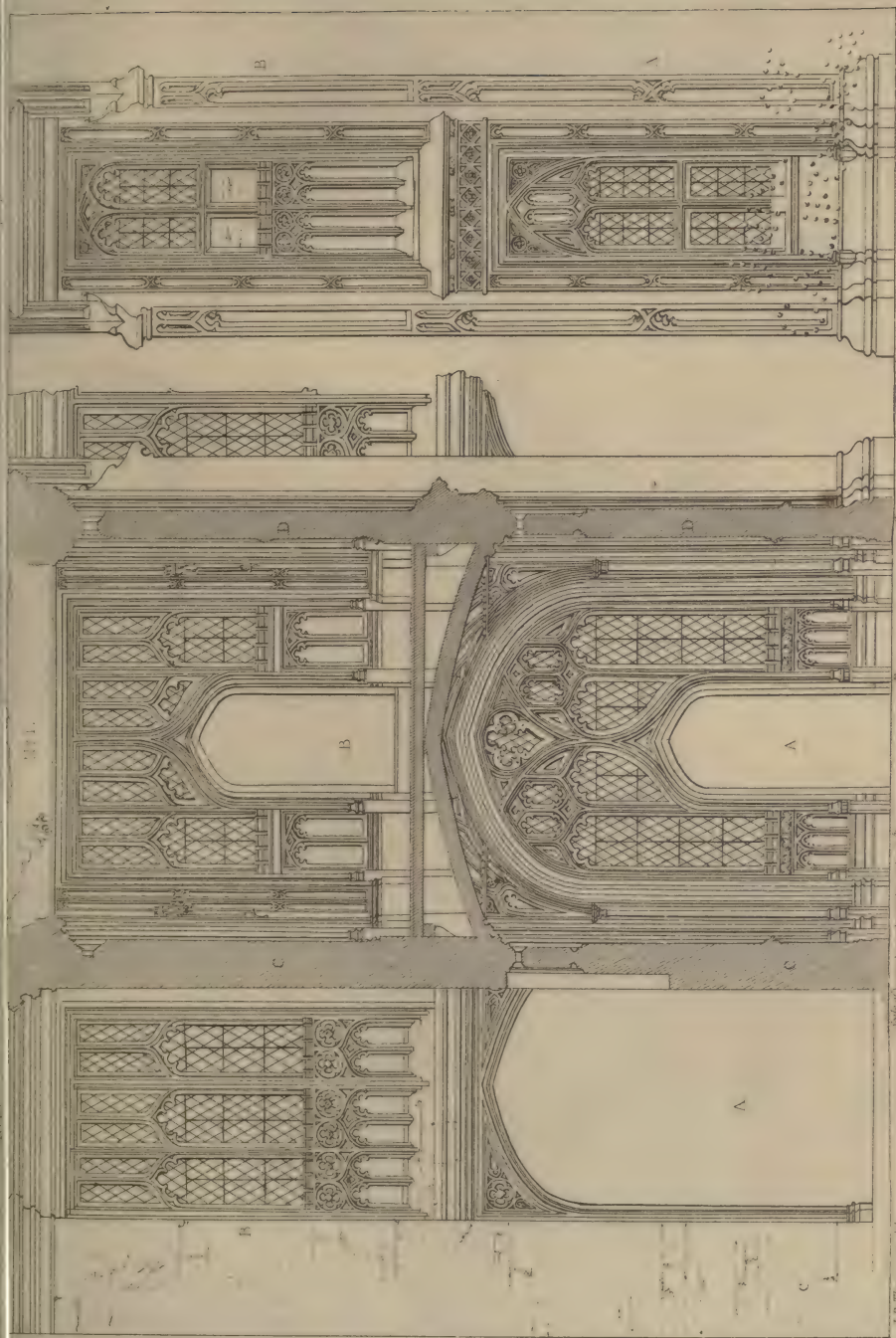
J. H. Russell sc.

COMPARTMENT OF CEILING AT NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES.

CHOIR OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.

London: Published Oct. 1. 1833. By Braden &amp; Co. 49, Abchurch Lane.





A. R. Thompson del.

Scale of

CHANTRY CHAPELS.  
N<sup>o</sup> 1 SECTION LOOKING W & ELEVATION OF EAST END, NO. 3.

Exter

T. Clark f.







CHANTRY CHAPEL IN CLOISTERS  
ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.



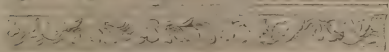




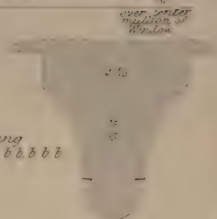
S. 6'



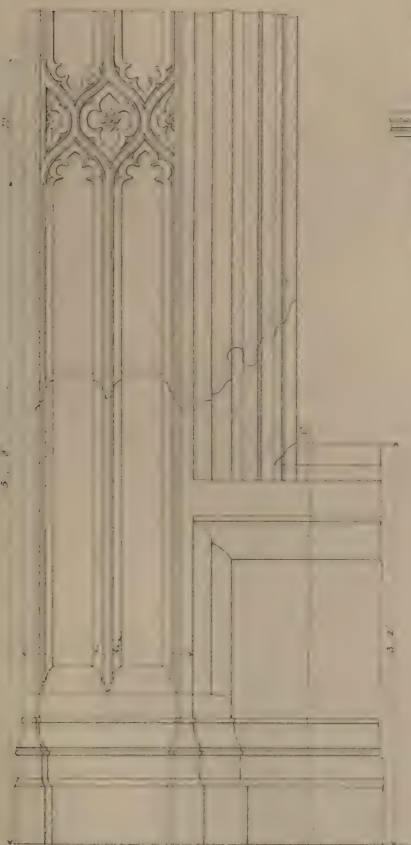
8



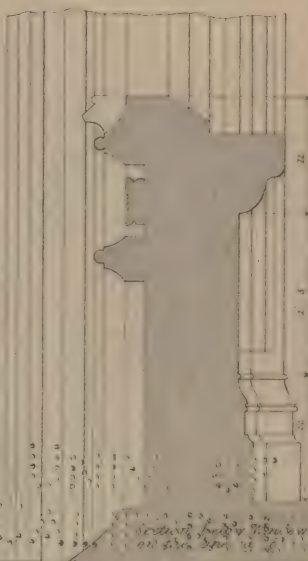
Ceiling  
Rib b b b b b



Center part of Ceiling  
over the Piers in Upper Cloister.



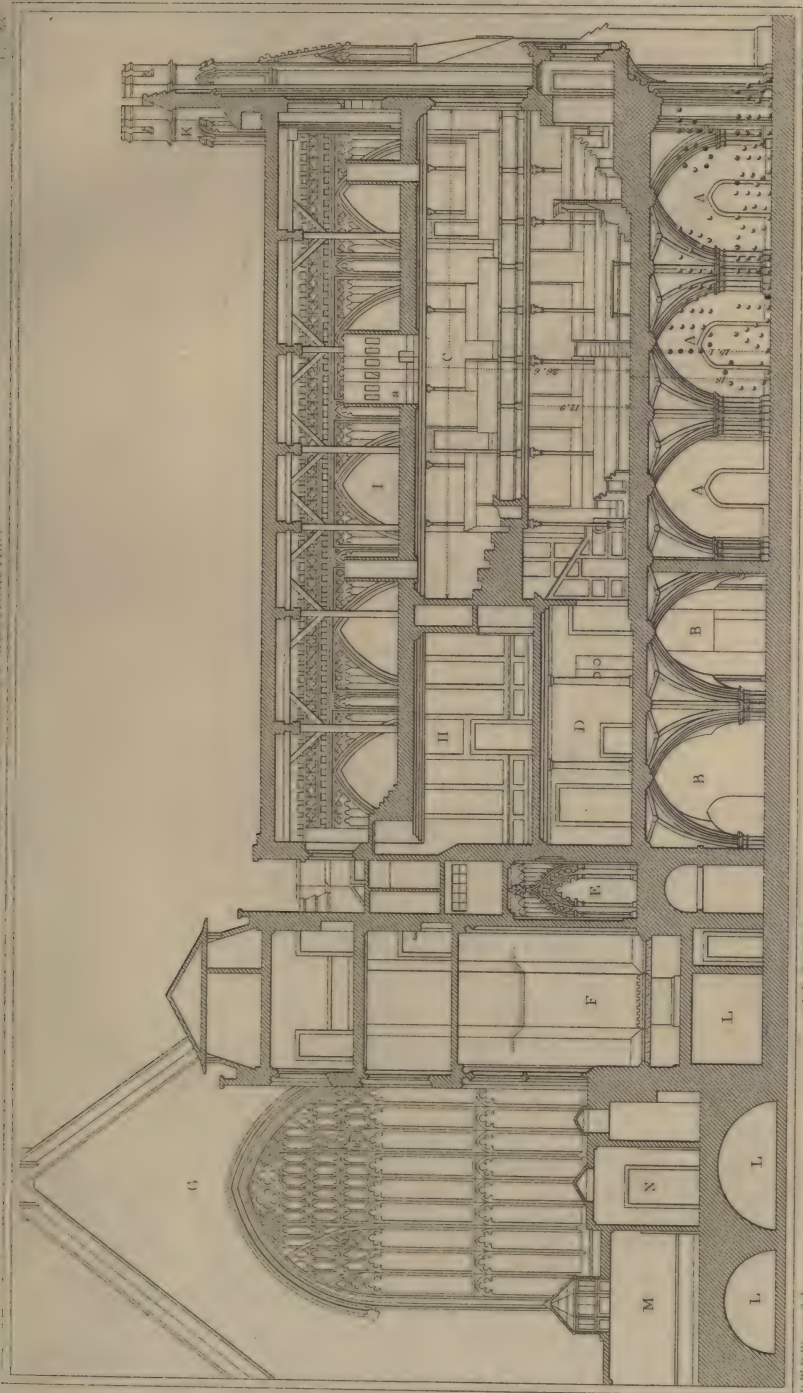
Elevation of Piers between Windows  
in the Upper Cloister



J. Hawtrey del.

F. Martin sculp.





R.W. Billings del.

Scale of 100 feet

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

G. Clutton R.

SECTION OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL AND CRYPT.

AS FITTED UP FOR THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1834

*See around Plan & description.*

and E. & D. Norton.





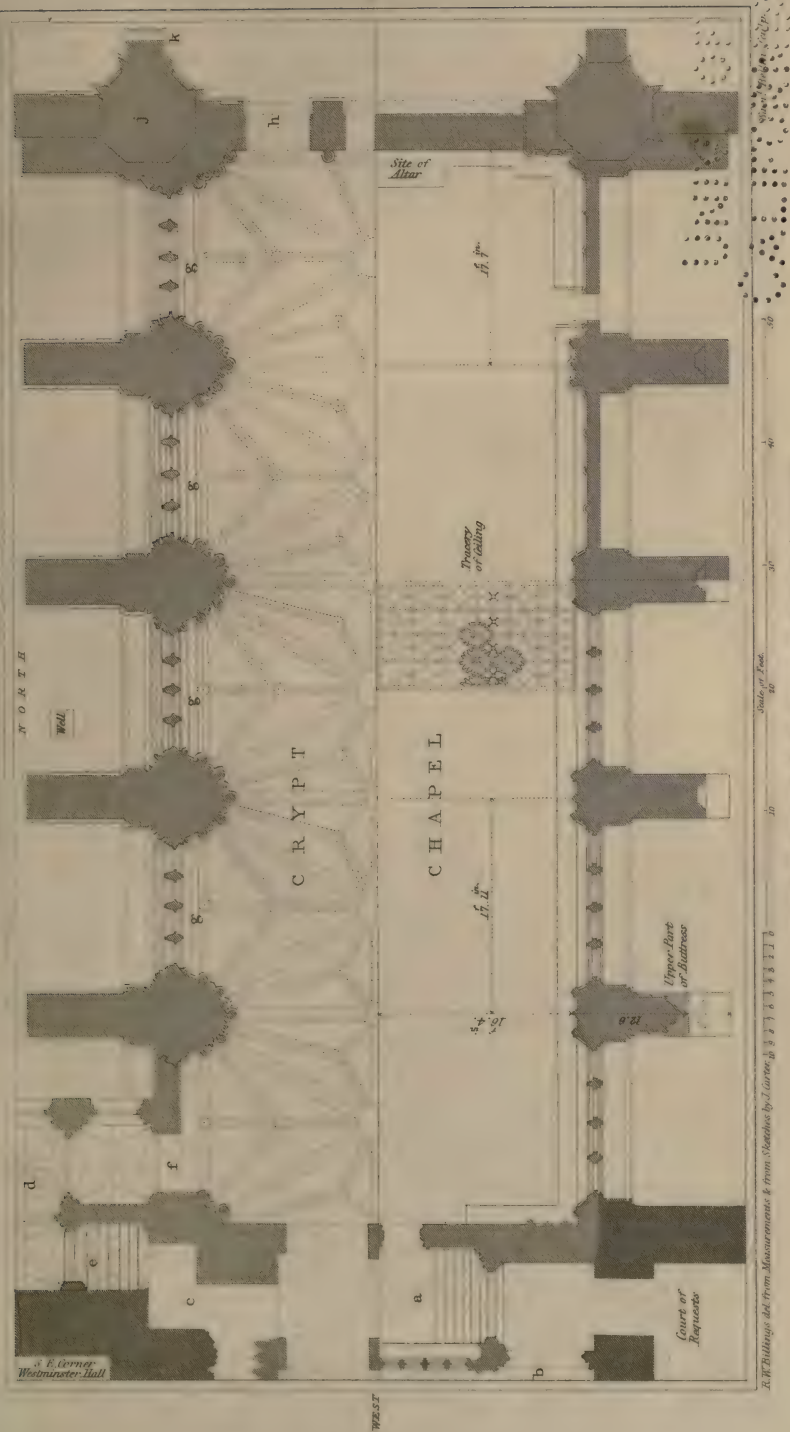


W. Woolbach, sc.

CLOISTER COURT  
ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.







PLANS OF CHAPEL & OF CRYPT, ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL,  
WESTMINSTER.

London, Published April 1826, by J. Wolfe, 59 Holb. Hothorn.

*and R. C. Whinders*





RW Billings del. Novr 1834

J Le Kruux &c

ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, LOOKING EAST  
WESTMINSTER.

London, Published May 11835, by J. Weale, 57 High Holborn.

and & Co Printers.







R.W. Billings del.

J. Carter fec.

ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL—EAST FRONT.  
WESTMINSTER.

*Published Feb'y 1. 1836, by J. Waile, 50 High Holborn.*

*Gud & Co Printers*







R.W. Billings del.

Thos. Clark sc.

VESTIBULE TO ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.  
WESTMINSTER.

London, Published Feb. 1, 1835, by J. Waale, High Holborn.

Sad. & Co. Printers







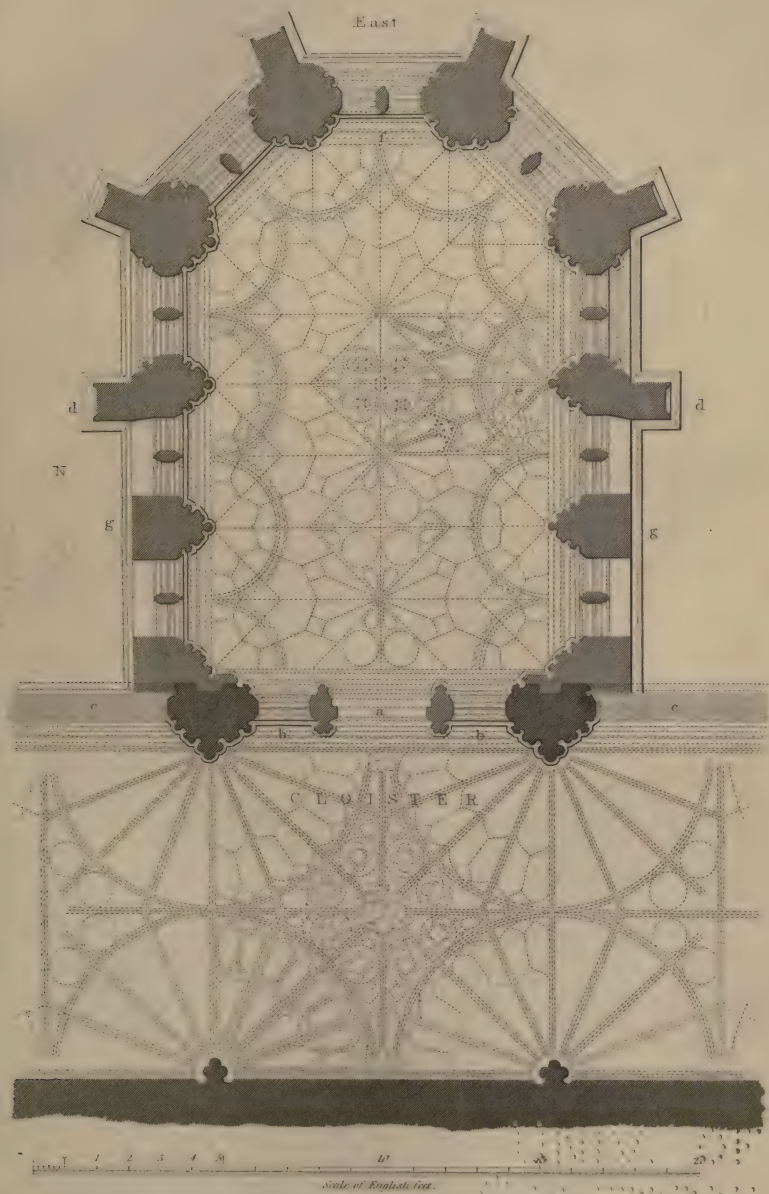
W. Harrison del. Oct. 21. 1834

Thos. Clark sc.

UPPER CLOISTER, PART OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, &c.  
WESTMINSTER.







J. Thompson del. May 1845

Saml Bellin, fr.

GROUND PLAN CHANTRY-CHAPEL & ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.  
WESTMINSTER.

THE MUSEUM  
OF THE  
CALIFORNIA









TWO COMPARTMENTS SOUTH EAST ANGLE  
CLOISTER OF ST STEPHEN'S CHURCH.

Oct 5, 1892







*W. P. Williams del. May 1835.*

*J. Woods sc.*

CLOISTER. N.W. ANGLE.  
ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.



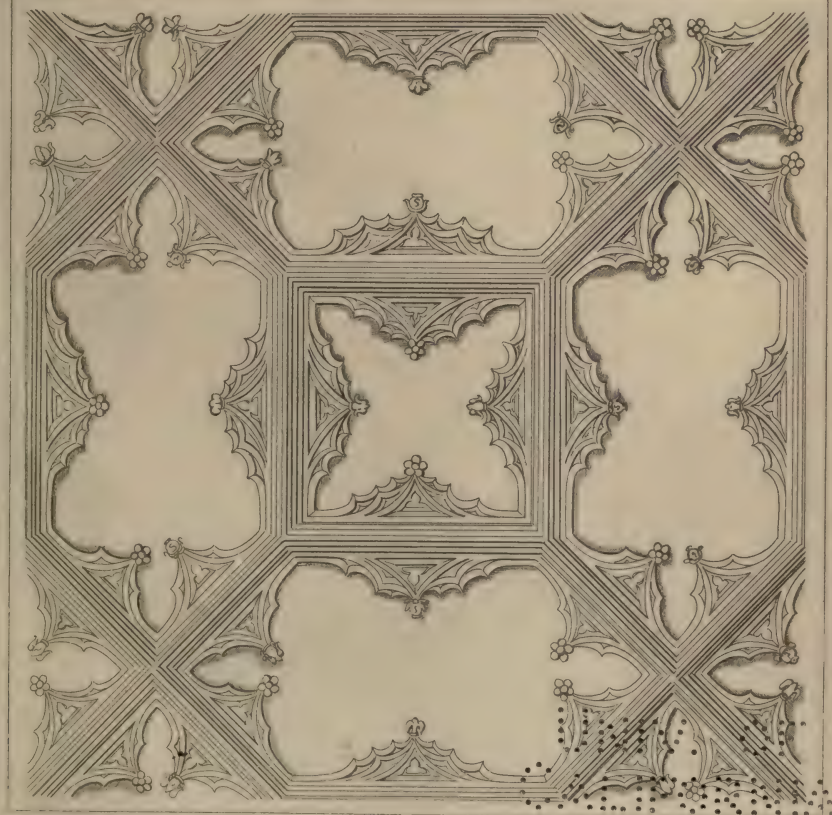




ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.  
PLAN OF HALF OF ONE WINDOW OF CLOISTER & DETAILS.

London: Published Decr 1 1833. by J. B. B. & Co. 101, Strand.

[illegible]



Capon del.

J. Woods sculp.

CAPITAL CARVED IN STONE OF THE TIME OF WILLIAM RUFUS.  
PART OF THE CIELING OF THE ANCIENT PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.







R.W. Babbage del.

The Cloister.

CLOISTER, ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, SOUTH WALK, LOOKING E.  
WESTMINSTER.







Engraved by R. W. Hollings Oct. 1864.

RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, &c.  
WESTMINSTER.

W. Woolworth &c.

London: Published April 1865, by T. Wode, 39, North Holborn.

2nd. & 3rd. Editions.





Engraved by T. Cook

LONG GALLERY, LOOKING NORTH,  
WESTMINSTER.

and R. C. Denton

London, Published April 1, 1835, by J. Waite, 59 High Holborn







R. K. Billings del. Feb. 1835.

Thos. Clark sc.

# HOUSE OF LORDS

AS FITTED UP IN 1835.







R. W. B. 1835

W. P. Taylor sc.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

AS FITTED UP IN 1835.

London, Published May 1, 1835, by J. Wolfe, 39 High Holborn.

and S. C. P. 1835



# LIST

## OF

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CLASSED AND ARRANGED UNDER THE NAMES OF THE BUILDINGS REPRESENTED—WHICH ARE FULLY DESCRIBED, AND THE PRINTS MORE PARTICULARLY NOTICED IN SUBSEQUENT PAGES, FROM 416 TO 464.

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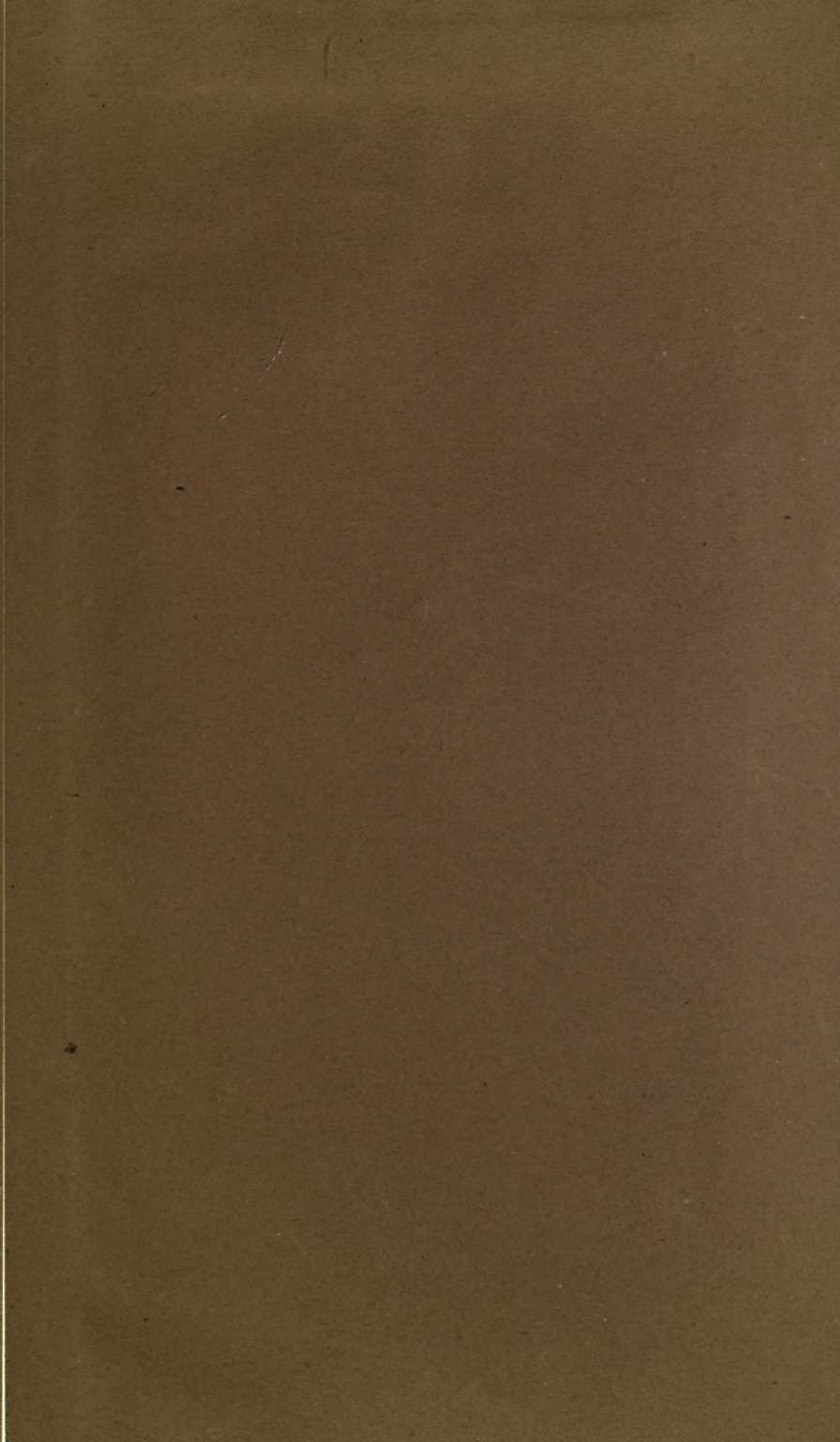
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